REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

THE

MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON,

INCLUDING

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

1630—1880.

EDITED

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,

LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III. V. 3, pt. 1

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. PART I.

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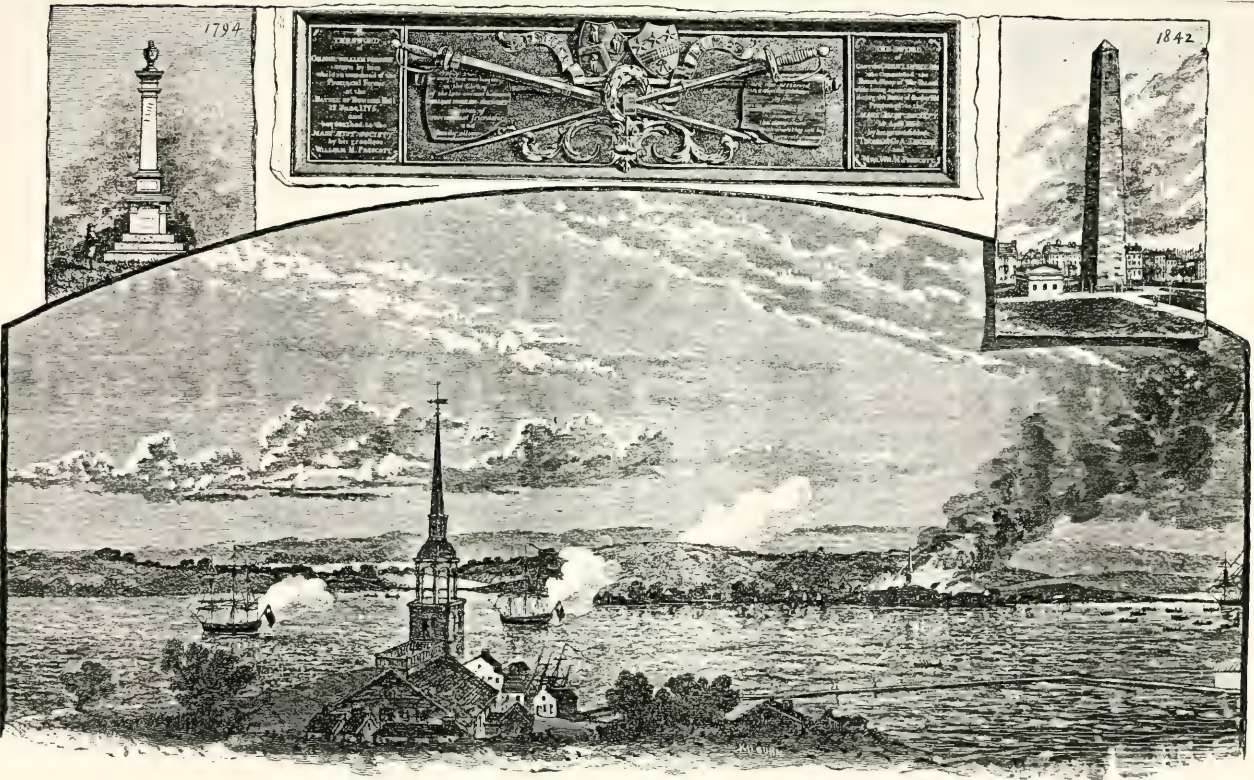
THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.

And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called . . . the faithful city. — ISAIAH I. 26.



BURNING OF CHARLESTOWN DURING THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

(Taken at the time by a British officer from Beacon Hill.)

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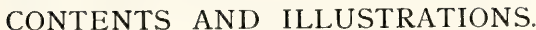

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INTRODUCTION.

MAPS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. In the Introduction to the second volume the Editor offered as full a list as he could make of the maps of Boston and its vicinity, belonging to the Provincial Period. He brought the enumeration down to a time when the struggle of the Revolution began to require a new issue of maps, and at this point he again takes up the list.

1774. *A Chart of the Coast of New England, from Beverly to Scituate Harbor, including the Ports of Boston and Salem. Engraved by J. Lodge.* This map appeared in the *London Magazine*, April, 1774 (10 × 7½ inches). In the upper left-hand corner is a *Plan of the Town of Boston* (5 × 3½ inches). There are but few names of interest on the plan. There is a copy in the Boston Athenæum. The same plate was used in the *American Atlas*, issued by Thomas Jefferys in 1776, and printed by Sayer and Bennett.

1774. *A Map of the most Inhabited Part of New England, by Thomas Jefferys, Nov. 29, 1774* (37¾ × 40 inches). In one corner is a map of the town (8½ × 5½ inches), and also a chart of the harbor (8¾ × 5½ inches), "from an accurate survey." See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1864. This map is contained in *The American Atlas, by the late Mr. Thomas Jefferys*, London, Sayer and Bennett, 1776, numbers 15 and 16. It was also re-engraved for a *Map of the most Inhabited Part of New England*, published without date, at Augsburg, by Tobias Conrad Lotter.

The map of the town seems to be based on the *London Magazine* map of the same date; is called *A New and Accurate Plan of the Town of Boston in New England.* Mr. A. O. Crane issued a fac-simile, Boston, 1875. See the map described under 1784.

1775. *A Plan of the Town and Chart of the Harbor of Boston, exhibiting a View of the Islands, Castle, Forts, and Entrances into the said Harbor.* Dated Feb. 1, 1775 (14 × 12 inches); includes Chelsea and Hingham, and gives soundings. It appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1775. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1860. It is given herewith in fac-simile. The view on the same page of heliotype is of Nix's Mate, as it appeared at this time, — now only a shoal. This is a reduction of one of the Des Barres series of coast views.

1775. BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL. The earliest plan of the battle is a slight sketch, after information from Chaplain John Martin, drawn by Stiles in his Diary, and reproduced in *Historical Magazine*, June, 1868; where will also be found a rude plan, made by printers' rules, given in *Rivington's Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1775. This last is reproduced in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston.* Lieutenant Page[1] made an excellent plan, based on a survey

[1] Page was one of the royal engineers, and served as aid to Howe; was wounded; was in England on leave in January, 1776, when the *London Chronicle* spoke of him "as the only one

by Montresor, of the British Engineers, showing the laying-out of Charlestown. The successive positions of the British line are indicated on a smaller superposed sheet. This was issued in London in 1776, called *A Plan of the Action at Bunker's Hill on the 17th June, 1775, between His Majesty's Troops under the Command of Major-General Howe, and the Rebel Forces.* The same plate, with some changes, was dated April 12, 1793, and used in Stedman's *American War.* It was re-engraved, reduced, by D. Martin, substituting "American" for "Rebel," and "Breed's" for "Bunker's" in the title, with a few other changes in names, and issued by C. Smith in 1797, in *The American War from 1775 to 1783.* See Hunnewell's *Bibliography of Charlestown and Bunker Hill*, 1880, p. 18, where a heliotype is given. It was again re-engraved, much reduced (5¼ × 9 inches), for Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, 1848, p. 156; and soon after, full size, following the original of 1776, in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston.*[1] A map of Boston, showing also Charlestown and Bunker's Hill, — but called *Plan of the Battle on Bunker's Hill. Fought on the 17th of June, 1775. By an Officer on the spot. London, printed for R. Sayer and T. Bennett, . . . Nov. 27, 1775,* — has the text of Burgoyne's letter to Lord Stanley on the same sheet. It has been reproduced in F. Moore's *Ballad History of the Revolution*, part ii.

Henry de Berniere, of the Tenth Royal Infantry, made a map similar in scale to Page's, but not so accurate in the ground plan. It was called *Sketch of the Action on the Heights of Charlestown*, and having been first mentioned in the *Gleaner*, — a newspaper published at Wilkesbarre, Pa., by Charles Miner, — as found recently in an old drawer, it was engraved, in fac-simile, in the *Analectic Magazine*, Philadelphia, February, 1818; where it is stated to have been found in the captured baggage of a British officer, and to have been "copied by J. A. Chapman from an original sketch taken by Henry de Berniere, of the fourteenth regiment of infantry, now in the hands of J. Cist, Esq." General Dearborn commented on this plan in the *Portfolio*, March, 1818 (reprinted in *Historical Magazine*, June, 1868), with the same plan altered in red (19½ × 12¼ inches), which alterations were criticised by Governor Brooks in June, 1818. See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg*, July, 1858. G. G. Smith worked on this rectified plan in producing his *Sketch of the Battle of Bunker Hill, by a British Officer* (12 × 19 inches), issued in Boston at the time of the completion of the monument in 1843.

Colonel Samuel Swett made a plan (18½ × 12½ inches), based on De Berniere's, which was published in his *History of the Battle of Bunker Hill*, and has been reproduced, full size, in Ellis's *Oration* in 1841; and reduced variously in Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, in Ellis's *History*, and *Centennial History;* and in other places.

There are other plans in the English translation of Botta's *War of Independence*, in Ridpath's *United States*, and in other popular histories. A good eclectic map is given in Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*, ch. 15. A map of Charlestown and plan of the battle (16¾ × 14 inches), by James E. Stone, was published by Prang & Co. in 1875. Felton and Parker's large survey of Charlestown, 1848, is of use in identifying localities, being made on the same scale as Page's plan; and it helped Thomas W. Davis in making a *Plan showing the redoubt, breastwork, rail-fence, and grass protection*, which was published in the Bunker Hill Monument Association's *Proceedings*, 1876, of which a section is given in Dr. Hale's chapter.

1775. *A Plan of Boston, in New England, with its Environs;* made by Henry Pelham (and often signed by him) under permission of Ja: Urquhart, town major, Aug. 28, 1775. It shows the lines about the town and the harbor. It was printed in two sheets (together, 42½ × 28½ inches), and published in London, June 2, 1777, done in

now living of those who acted as *aides-de-camp* to General Howe, so great was the slaughter of officers that day. He particularly distinguished himself in the storming of the redoubt, for which he received General Howe's thanks." — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1875, p. 56.

[1] Frothingham, it will be seen, was in error in supposing his to be the earliest American reproduction. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1875, where will be found his account of the maps and views of Charlestown before and after the battle.

From the Gentleman's Magazine, 1775.

Nix's Mate in 1775.

aquatinta by Francis Jukes. Dr. Belknap said of it in 1789: "I believe there is no more correct plan than Mr. Pelham's." — *Belknap Papers*, ii. 115. There is a copy in Harvard College Library, and a tracing made from this by George Lamb was given in the *Evacuation Memorial*, 1876. There are two copies in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library; another is owned by Samuel S. Shaw, Esq. Frank Moore, in his *Diary of the American Revolution*, gives a reduced representation of it; and a small fac-simile will be found in S. A. Drake's *Old Landmarks of Middlesex*. A reduced fac-simile of it is also given herewith.

Henry Pelham

Head Quarters Boston 28th August 1775
Ja: Urquhart
Town Major

1775. *A Plan of the Town of Boston with the Intrenchments, etc., of His Majesty's Forces in* 1775, *from the observations of Lieut. Page, of His Majesty's Corps of Engineers, and from the plans of other gentlemen;* engraved and printed for William Faden, Oct. 1, 1777 (11¾ × 17½ inches). It is reproduced by Frothingham, in his *Siege of Boston*, and also in the present History. It gives the peninsula only, with a small bit of Charlestown, and according to Shurtleff it gives names to several streets, etc., different from Bonner's. There was a later edition, October, 1778. The original drawing of this plan is in the Faden collection in the Library of Congress.

1775. *Boston, its Environs and Harbour, with the Rebels' Works Raised against that Town in* 1775, *from the Observations of Lieut. Page, of His Majesty's Corps of Engineers, and from the Plans of Capt. Montresor;* scale, 2⅝ inches to the mile; extends from Point Alderton to Cambridge, and from Chelsea to Dorchester (33 × 18 inches); "engraved and published by William Faden, Oct. 1, 1778." There is a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, book 572, No. 3, "Miscellaneous Maps." The original drawing is in the Faden Collection, Library of Congress.

1775. *A large chart of Boston Harbor, and the neighboring country, surveyed by Samuel Holland*[1] (42 × 30 inches and without title), dated Aug. 5, 1775. It takes in Nahant, Nantasket, and Cambridge. It was subsequently dated Dec. 1, 1781, with some changes, and with the fortifications of the siege marked in and explained in marginal references; and is included by Des Barres in the *Atlantic Neptune*, part iii. No. 6, 1780–83. A text, sometimes with this later issue, says it was composed from different surveys, but principally from that of George Callendar, 1769, late master of His Majesty's ship "Romney." Richard Frothingham's copy of this later plate was used in making the reproduction in Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 1870. The same plate was used in *Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England, from Surveys taken by Samuel Holland, etc., for the use of the Royal Navy of Great Britain*. By J. F. W. Des Barres, 1781.

[1] Samuel Holland was Surveyor-general of the northern colonies, and, working down the coast from the north, he had completed his surveys as far south as Boston in 1773; and in 1775 he reported to Lord Dartmouth that he was ready to run the line between Massachusetts and New York. He adhered to the crown in the Revolutionary war, and died in Lower Canada in 1801. Sabine's *American Loyalists*, i. 537.

An outline map of Boston Harbor and Massachusetts Bay is contained in a series called *Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England, by J. F. W. Des Barres, from Surveys by Samuel Holland and his Assistants, who have been employed on that service since the year* 1764.

1775. *Seat of War in New England by an American Volunteer, with the Marches of the several Corps sent by the Colonies towards Boston, with the attack on Bunker Hill.* London, Sayer and Bennett, Sept. 2, 1775. (18 × 15½ inches.) It extends from Lower New Hampshire to Narragansett Bay, and west to Leicester. It was reproduced in the *Centennial Graphic*, 1875.

On the same sheet are two marginal maps, — *Plan of Boston Harbor* (5½ × 6 inches); and *Plan of Boston and Charlestown*, — the latter showing pictorially the battle of Bunker Hill in progress, and the town burning, — (5½ × 12 inches). It seems to follow for Boston the *London Magazine* map, and is fac-similed in W. W. Wheildon's *New History of the Battle of Bunker Hill*, 1875; also in the accounts and memorials of the battle prepared by David Pulsifer, James M. Bugbee, and George A. Coolidge. It also very closely resembles the following: —

1775. *Plan of the Town of Boston, with the attack on Bunker's Hill, in the Peninsula of Charlestown, on June* 17, 1775. *J. Norman, Sc.* (11½ × 7 inches, folding.) The Charlestown peninsula represents the town burning, and the British troops advancing to attack the redoubt. This map appeared in *An impartial History of the War in America, Boston: Nathaniel Coverley and Robert Hodge,* MDCCLXXXI. vol. i.; and in the second (1782) Newcastle-upon-Tyne edition of a book, published in London, of a like title, the first English edition having appeared in 1779. See Henry Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i., No. 435.

1775. *Map of Boston and Charlestown, by An English Officer present at Bunker Hill.* London, Sayer and Bennett, Nov. 25, 1775. (14 × 14 inches.)

1775. *Boston and the Surrounding Country, and Posts of the American Troops, Sept.*, 1775, is the title of a sketch in Trumbull's *Autobiography*, showing the lines of circumvallation as drawn by himself. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1879, p. 62. It is given in fac-simile, in Dr. Hale's chapter in the present volume.

1775. *Plan of Boston and its environs, showing the true situation of His Majesty's Army, and also those of the Rebels; drawn by an Engineer at Boston, Oct.*, 1775; published, March 12, 1776, by Andrew Dury; engraved by Jno. Lodge for the late Mr. Jefferys, geographer to the King. (25 × 17¾ inches.) In Charlestown it shows the "Redoubt taken from ye rebels by General Howe," with the British camp on Bunker Hill. It includes Governor's Island, and takes in the Cambridge and Roxbury lines. It bears this address: "To the public. The principal part of this plan was surveyed by Richard Williams, lieutenant at Boston, and sent over by the son of a nobleman to his father in town, by whose permission it is published. N. B. — The original has been compared with, and additions made from, several other curious drawings."

1775. *Map of Boston, Charlestown and vicinity*, showing the lines of circumvallation; in Force's *American Archives*, iii. and reproduced in W. W. Wheildon's *Siege and Evacuation of Boston and Charlestown*, 1876.

1775. *Plan of Boston*, with Charlestown marked as in ruins; in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1775.

1775. *A new and correct plan of the Town of Boston and Provincial Camp* is in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, July, 1775. It resembles that in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1775, and was engraved by Aitkins (7½ × 10½ inches), showing the peninsula only. In one corner of the plate is a plan of the Provincial Camp, scale two miles to one inch, with the circumvallating lines. It is reproduced in W. W. Wheildon's *Siege and Evacuation of Boston and Charlestown;* Moore's *Ballad History*, etc.

1775. *A new Plan of Boston Harbour from an actual survey*, C. Lownes, sculp.; in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, June, 1775. (7½ × 10½ inches.) It has this legend: "N. B. — Charlestown burnt, June 17, 1775, by the Regulars."

A PLAN of

THE TOWN OF BOSTON

with

the INTRENCHMENTS &c.

OF

HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES in 1775

from the Observations of

LIEUT. PAGE

of His MAJESTY'S Corps of Engineers:

and from the Plans of other GENTLEMEN.

CHARLESTOWN

MILL POND

THE HARBOUR

South Battery

Long Wharf

Hudson's Point

all this Part is dry at Low Water

Dry at Low Water except in the Mid-Channel

References to the Lines &c.

References to the Town

Scale of Yards

1775. *To the Honl. Jno. Hancock, Esq., . . . this Map of the Seat of Civil War in America is . . . inscribed by . . . B. Romans.* It extends from Buzzard's Bay to Salem, from the ocean to Leicester. (15 × 17 inches.) It contains also a marginal *Plan of Boston and its Environs*, 1775 (3 × 3½ inches), showing the circumvallating lines. In the lower right-hand corner is a small view (1 × 6½ inches) of *The Lines thrown up on Boston Neck by the Ministerial Army.* The key reads: "1, Boston; 2, Mr. Hancock's house; 3, enemy's camp on Mc [?] Hill; 4, block house; 5, guardhouses; 6, gate and draw-bridge; 7, Beacon Hill."

1775. An inaccurate map of Boston and environs (10¼ × 8¼ inches), made in June, 1775, and published, Aug. 28, 1775, in Almon's *Remembrancer*, i. It gives the head-quarters of the opposing forces, their camps, lines, etc. The second edition of the first volume of Almon contained a map giving forty miles about Boston, a plan of the town, and a map of the vicinity.

1775. A small *Map of Boston and Vicinity*, after one made during the British occupancy, is given in *Harper's Monthly*, June, 1873, in an article by B. J. Lossing, describing some views of Boston in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York.

1775. *Boston and circumjacent Country, showing present situation of the King's Troops, and the Rebel intrenchments.* July 25, 1775. (16¾ × 17 inches.) A fac-simile of this, from the original manuscript owned by Mr. Charles Deane, is given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1879.

1775. *A draught of the Harbor of Boston, and the adjacent towns and roads*, 1775, is the inscription on a manuscript map (12 × 9 inches) in the *Belknap Papers*, i. 84, in the Massachusetts Historical Society's cabinet.

1775. *Plan of Dorchester Neck*, made for the use of the British Army, given in T. C. Simond's *History of South Boston*, p. 31. The *History of Dorchester*, p. 333, speaks of a map (of which an engraving is given) drawn by order of the British general, showing nine houses on the Neck, as being in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library; but it cannot now be found. Simond's map was simply drawn from Pelham's, with names added.

1775. *Boston and Vicinity*, following Pelham for the country and Page for the harbor (13 × 9½ inches), was compiled by Gordon for his *American Revolution*, in 1788.

1775. *Boston and Vicinity*, 1775-1776; engraved for Marshall's *Washington;* Philadelphia, C. P. Wayne, 1806. (8¾ × 13¼.) It follows Gordon's, and was reduced for subsequent editions. A wood-cut of a similar plan is given in Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, i. 566. See also Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*, p. 154.

1775. *Map of Boston and Vicinity.* It is an eclectic map, showing the lines of circumvallation, and was engraved for Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 26, and is also given in the Boston *Evacuation Memorial*, 1876. It was followed in Guizot's *Washington*, and in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, iii. 427.

1775. *Boston and its Environs in* 1755 *and* 1776 (6¼ × 9 inches). Shows the harbor and the lines of circumvallation. An eclectic map, engraved for Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 91.

1775–1776. British Lines on Boston Neck. Several plans are preserved. The main defence was at Dover Street, the outer works being near the line of Canton Street. A manuscript plan, — "the courses, distances, etc., taken from the memorandum book of a deserter from the Welch Fusileers," — is preserved in the *Lee Papers*, belonging to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of this a description is given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1879, p. 62. A reduced fac-simile is given in Dr. Hale's chapter. It has an explanatory table of the armament in the hand of Colonel Mifflin, Washington's aid, and is signed T. M. A plan nearly duplicate, sent by Washington to Congress (Force's *American Archives*, fourth series, p. 29), is copied by Force (p. 31), and is reproduced in Wheildon's *Siege and Evacuation of Boston.* Cf. Trumbull's *Autobiography*, p. 22, where it is mentioned that Trumbull, an aid to General Spencer, who

had made a sketch of the works, by crawling up under cover of the tall grass, had hoped by this means to recommend himself to the Commander-in-Chief. "My further progress was rendered unnecessary," he adds, "by the desertion of one of the British artillery-men, who brought out with him a rude plan of the entire work. My drawing was also shown to the General; and their correspondence proved that, as far as I had gone, I was correct. This (probably) led to my future promotion." In the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Aug. 1775, is an *Exact Plan of General Gage's Lines on Boston Neck in America.* (9 × 11½ inches.) The scale is a quarter of a mile to $4\frac{13}{16}$ inches. It gives both the outer and inner lines. In the text a statement is made of the guns mounted, ending, — "This is a true state this day, July 31, 1775." A drawing of the British lines on the Neck, dated August, 1775, is in the Faden collection of maps in the Library of Congress. An engraved view is given in heliotype in Dr. Hale's chapter. A somewhat rude delineation of the lines on a contemporary powder-horn is noted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1881.

1776. *Chart of Massachusetts Bay and Boston Harbor;* published, April 29, 1776; extends from Cape Ann to Cape Cod. It appeared in the *Atlantic Neptune*, dated Dec. 1, 1781. According to Shurtleff, one edition of this map is dated May, 1774. It also appeared, with the earlier date, in Des Barres' *Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England*, 1781. W.P. Parrott in 1851 issued a reproduction of the Des Barres map of the harbor.

1776. *Chart of Boston Bay;* published Nov. 13, 1776. Takes in Salem, Scituate, and Watertown. (39 × 30½ inches.) The surveys were made by Samuel Holland. As appearing in the *Atlantic Neptune*, 1780–83, it is dated Dec. 1, 1781, and signed by J. F. W. Des Barres. It is also included in Des Barres' *Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England*, 1781. The Back Bay is called "Charles Bay."

1776. There is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Cabinet a rudely drawn map of the harbor and adjacent parts (8 × 7½ inches), in which the positions of the American forces are given. The Continental army is put at twenty thousand, and the Royal forces in the town at eight thousand.

1776. *The North American Pilot for New England, etc., from original surveys by Captain John Gascoigne, Joshua Fisher, Jacob Blamey, and other Officers and Pilots in His Majesty's Service.* London, Sayer and Bennett, 1776. This contains a chart of the harbor of Boston, with the soundings, etc. (34 × 21 inches). The course up the channel, from below Castle William, is marked by bringing the outer angle of the North Battery in range with "Charlestown tree," which stands on the peninsula, inscribed "Ruins of Charlestown." Harvard College Library has the volume, and the loose map is in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library, and in the Public Library. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Sept. 1864. A second edition, 1800, is also in the College Library, and has the same map.

1776. *Map of the seat of War in New England.* London; printed for Carrington Bowles, 1776. (6½ × 4½ inches.) It has on the margin a small chart of the harbor and environs.

1776. *The seat of the late War at Boston, in the State of Massachusetts* (7 × 10 inches), taking in Salem, Marshfield, and Worcester, is given in the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*, July, 1789.

1776. Plan of Boston in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und aus Europa*, Nuremberg, 1776.

1776. *Carte du port et havre de Boston, par le Chevalier de Beaurain*, Paris, 1776 (28 × 23 inches). It bears the earliest known representation of the Pine-tree banner, in the hands of a soldier, making part of the vignette. There are copies in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library, and in Harvard College Library.

1776. (?) There is in the collection of maps made in Paris for the State, by Ben Perley Poore, and preserved in the State archives, one entitled, *Carte de la Baye de Boston*,

A PLAN of BOSTON in NEW ENGLAND with its ENVIRONS,
Including MILTON, DORCHESTER, ROXBURY, BROOKLIN, CAMBRIDGE, MEDFORD, CHARLESTOWN, Parts of MALDEN and CHELSEA.
With the MILITARY WORKS Constructed in those Places in the Years 1775 and 1776.
Charles River
Mistick or Medford River
Little Cove
PART OF
BOSTON
HARBOUR
Milton River
Dorchester
To the Right Honourable Lord George Germain;
One of His MAJESTY'S Principal Secretaries of State &c. &c.
This Plan is Dedicated
with the greatest Respect, by his Lordship's
most Obedient and most Obliged humble Servant
REFERENCES to BOSTON.
BOSTON, founded Anno 1630.

située dans la Nouvelle Angleterre (7 × 6⅓ inches), which is marked, "Tome i. No. 30," as if belonging to a series.

1776. *Carte von dem Hafen und der stad Boston, mit den umliegenden Gegenden und den Lägern sowohl der Amerikaner als auch der Engländer, von dem Cheval de Beaurin, nach dem Pariser original von* 1776. Frentzel, sculpt. This also appeared in the first part of the *Geographische Belustigungen*, Leipsic, 1776, by J. C. Müller, of which there is a copy in Harvard College Library.

1778. The *Atlas Ameriquain Septentrional, à Paris, chez Le Rouge, ingenieur Géographe du Roi*, 1778, repeated the "Plan de Boston" from Jefferys' *American Atlas* of 1776, with names in English and descriptions in French. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1864. There was also an edition "after the original by M. Le Rouge, Austin Street, 1777," styled *La Nouvelle Angleterre en* 4 *feuilles*.

1780. *Carte particulière du Havre de Boston, reduite de la carte anglaise de Des Barres, par ordre de M. de Sartine*, 1780 (23 × 34 inches). It has the seal of the "Dépôt générale de la marine," and makes part of the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional, publié par ordre du Roi.*

1780. *Plan of the new Streets in Charlestown, with the alteration of the old. Surveyed in* 1780 *by John Leach.* No scale given. (25¼ × 19¾ inches.) It shows parts of Main and Henley streets, the Square, and Water Street. The names of all abutters on the streets are given, with accurate measurements of each lot. It is manuscript.

1782. *A New and Accurate Chart of the Harbour of Boston in New England in North America* (6½ × 9 inches), published in the *Political Magazine*, November, 1827.

MAPS OF BOSTON SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTION. — The following list gives all, or nearly all, the maps of Boston (including the harbor and the vicinity, and considerable portions of the town or present city) published between the close of the Revolution and the middle of the present century: —

1784. *Plan of the Town of Boston* (9 × 6 inches). This map is interesting as showing the outline of the "tri-mountain" in relation to the streets of 1784, when the original elevation had not been materially changed. It appeared in the *Boston Magazine*, October, 1784, accompanying a *Geographical Gazetteer of Massachusetts*, which was originally issued in instalments in that magazine. The original is in a copy of the magazine in the Boston Public Library. It was re-engraved in the New York edition (1846) of *A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre*, and in Kidder's *History of the Boston Massacre*, Albany, 1870. It resembles the *London Magazine* map of 1774.

1787. Dr. Belknap made a plan of so much of the town as was swept by the fire of April in this year, which spread along Orange Street, taking Hollis Street church, extending to Common Street. A fac-simile of his sketch is given in the *Belknap Papers*, i. 470.

1789. *Chart of the Coast of America, from Cape Cod to Cape Elizabeth. Sold by Matthew Clark, Boston, October*, 1789. It has a marginal chart of Boston Harbor (7 × 6 inches). This chart belongs to a collection of North American charts dedicated by Clark to John Hancock.

1789. A map of the town (9½ × 7 inches), engraved by John Norman (who had his printing office near the Boston Stone), which appeared in the *Boston Directory* [1] of this year, — the earliest one published. Dr. Belknap speaks of it as very imperfect. See *Belknap Papers*, ii. 115, and *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1875.

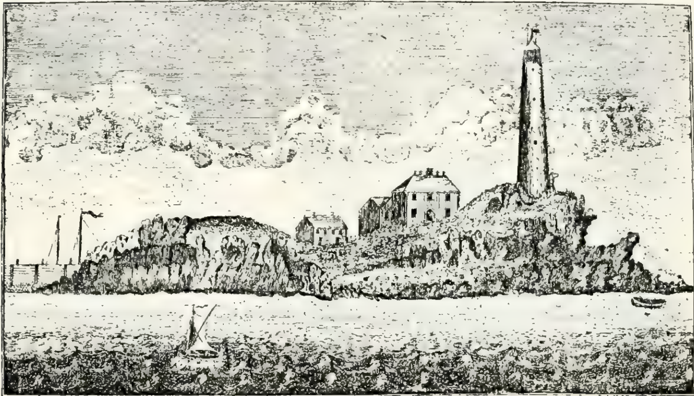
[1] This first *Boston Directory* was reprinted, correcting the alphabetizing, in Dearborn's *Boston Notions*; also in the *Directory* of 1852, and again separately in that year, from the same type. Copies of the first *Directory* usually want the map; the Public Library copy has it.

1791. *The American Pilot. Boston, John Norman*, 1791. O. Carleton,[1] Sept. 10, 1791, certifies on the title that he has compared the charts with Holland's and Des Barres', and other good authorities. A map of the coast from Timber Island, Maine, to New York, shows Boston Harbor (about 4 × 4 inches).

1794. Dr. Belknap sketched a plan of that part of the town lying between Washington Street and Fort Hill, showing the new Tontine Crescent. A fac-simile is given in the *Belknap Papers*, ii. 351.

1794. *The English Pilot, London, Mount & Davidson*, gives a large chart of the *Sea Coast of New England from Cape Cod to Casco Bay, lately Surveyed by Captain Henry Barnsley. Sold by W. & I. Mount & T. Page, London.* It gives a space of about three inches square to Boston Harbor. The *Pilot* also contains a large chart of the *Coast of New England from Staten Island to the Island of Breton, as it was actually surveyed by Captain Cyprian Southack. Sold by I. Mount, T. Page, & W. Mount, London.* This

Osgood Carleton



BOSTON LIGHT, 1789.[2]

plate has a marginal *Plan of Boston* (11½ × 7 inches), which seems to be Southack's reduction of Bonner, made sixty years before, in 1733. See Vol. I. p. liv.

1794. Matthew Withington's *Map of Roxbury* is the earliest manuscript map of that part of the present city. See Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 52. There are copies of this at the State House and in the city surveyor's office.

1794. *A Plan of Charlestown, surveyed in December*, 1794. . . . *By Saml. Thompson, surveyor. Scale*, 200 *rods to an inch.* (16½ × 10½ inches.) It is stated in the margin that there are 344 acres within the neck, and 3,940 without the neck; that White Island, at the east end of Malden Bridge, contains 16 acres; and that the whole acreage therefore

[1] Osgood Carleton was born at Haverhill in 1742, and died in 1816. He served in the Revolution; and after the war taught mathematics in Boston, and published various maps, — among others a map of the State, by order of the General Court, in 1801. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. p. 141. He was an original member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

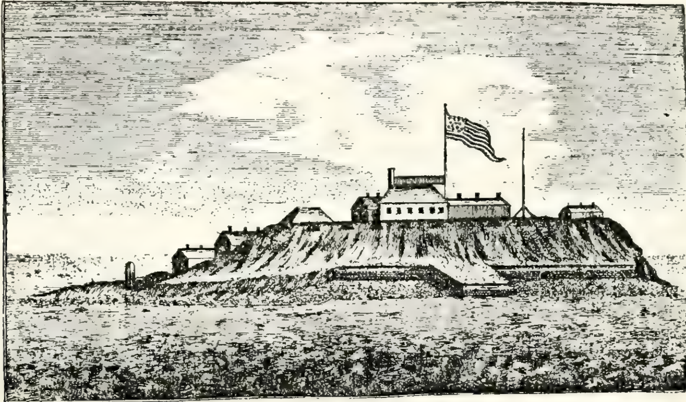
[2] This is a fac-simile of a plate in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, February, 1789.

is 4,300, which includes Mystic Pond (200 acres), and also all brooks, creeks, and roads in the town. The adjoining towns are shown by different colored lines. Only the county roads in Charlestown are marked, and the site of the meeting-house on Town Hill is indicated. This plan is now in the Secretary's office at the State House, and has never been reproduced.

1795. An original map of the town, surveyed by Osgood Carleton for the selectmen, is preserved in the city surveyor's office, Boston. *City Document*, No. 119, of 1879.

1795. Carleton's survey was used in a small map (14½ × 9 inches), which was engraved by Joseph Callender for the second *Boston Directory*, published by John West, 1796. This same date was kept on the map in the *Directories* of 1798 and 1800. In 1803 the date is omitted, and a few changes are made in the plate. In 1807 the map is entitled simply *Plan of Boston*, and the references are omitted.

1797. *An accurate Plan of the Town of Boston, and its vicinity. . . . Also, part of Charlestown and Cambridge, from the surveys of Samuel Thompson, Esq., and part of Roxbury and Dorchester from those of Mr. Whitherington* [sic] (*all which surveys



CASTLE ISLAND, 1789.[1]

were taken by order of the General Court). *By Osgood Carleton, teacher of mathematics in Boston. I. Norman, Sc. Published as the act directs, May* 16, 1797. (37 × 40 inches.) See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1880, p. 365. There is a heliotype of the Boston part of it reduced, in Vol. IV., following the Harvard College copy.

1800. *A new Plan of Boston, from actual surveys by Osgood Carleton, with corrections, additions, and improvements.* This is of the peninsula only (27 × 20 inches), and is seemingly a section of the 1797 map. It was reproduced in 1878 by G. B. Foster, in fac-simile, somewhat reduced

1801. *Plan of East Boston;* in Sumner's *History of East Boston.*

1803. See 1795 (Directory map).

1806. *A new Plan of Boston, drawn from the best authorities, with the latest improvements, additions, and corrections. Boston, published and sold by W. Norman, Pleasant Street; sold also by William Pelham, No.* 59 *Cornhill.* This is the 1800 plan, with the plate lengthened to include South Boston, "taken from the actual surveys of Mr.

[1] This cut shows, in fac-simile, a plate of this fortification which appeared in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, May, 1789.

Withington" (35 × 19 inches). There are changes of ward-numbers and bounds. The lower part of the plate, below Dover Street, is re-engraved. There is a copy in the Boston Public Library.

1809. Directory map, published by Edward Cotton; engraved by Callender (15 × 9½ inches).

1814. A map showing houses and estates (28 × 36 inches), drawn by J. G. Hales, engraved by T. Wightman. A fac-simile was issued by Alexander Williams in 1879.

1814. A plan "of the contemplated design of erecting perpetual tide-mills," engraved by Dearborn, on wood, dated February, 1814. A copy in the American Antiquarian Society's Library is indorsed by Isaiah Thomas, "Done by the new method of printing the colors, 1813." This plan is given in reduced heliotype in Mr. Stanwood's chapter in Vol. IV.

1817. *Chart of Boston Harbor;* surveyed by Alexander Wadsworth, by order of Commodore William Bainbridge; engraved by Allen & Gaw; published in Philadelphia by John Melish in 1819; scale, 1500 feet to one inch (42 × 36 inches). Scale, 1500 feet to one inch.

1818. *Plan of the Charlestown Peninsula. . . . From accurate survey by Peter Tufts, Jr., Esq. Engraved by Annin & Smith, Boston.* (21 × 17¼ inches). See Mr. Edes's chapter in this volume.

1819. *Boston and Vicinity* (31½ × 25 inches), by John G. Hales, engraved by Edward Gillingham. Some issues are dated 1820. To this year are ascribed two volumes of original plans of streets, lanes, and abutting houses, made by Hales for the selectmen, which are preserved in the city surveyor's department. See *City Document* No. 119, of 1879. Hales's engraved map was reissued, with revisions by Nathan Hale, in 1829 and 1833.

1821. Hales's *Survey of Boston and Vicinity* has a map of the Back Bay, showing the "Great Dam," or Mill Dam.

1821. Blunt's *New Chart of the New England Coast* has a marginal chart of Boston Harbor.

1824. *Plan of Boston* (4 × 6¼ inches), by Abel Bowen, shows the original water-line and parts of the out-wharf. In Snow's *History of Boston;* also in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, 1828; and in Snow's *Geography of Boston*, 1830.

1824. *Plan of Boston* (22 × 22 inches), by William B. Annin and G. G. Smith; re-issued frequently by Smith, and used in the municipal registers and school documents.

1826. *Boston and Vicinity* (6 × 3¾ inches), by A. Bowen; in Snow's *History of Boston*, 1826 and 1828; and in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*, 1828.

1828. *Plan of Boston* (14½ × 9 inches), by Hazen Morse; in *Boston Directory*, published by Hunt and Simpson, and then by Charles Simpson, Jr.; continued in use till 1839, with changes and additions.

1829 See 1819.

1830. *Plan of the Town of Charlestown, in the County of Middlesex . . . . made in August,* 1830, *under direction of the Selectmen, conformable to Resolves of the Legislature passed March* 1, 1830; *by John G. Hales, surveyor.* Scale, 100 rods to the inch. (26½ × 15½ inches.) The principal roads without the neck are laid down, and all the principal streets on the peninsula are shown. This is drawn in india ink and colors; is preserved in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and has never been reproduced.

1831. Mitchell's *United States* has a map of Boston and Vicinity (4½ × 3¼ inches).

1831. Surveys of Dorchester (with Milton) made by Edmund J. Baker; lithographed by Pendleton; scale, 3 miles to 1 inch (33 × 26 inches).

1832. *Town of Roxbury*, by J. G. Hales; scale, 100 rods to 1 inch (25 × 17½ inches); includes the present West Roxbury. It is reduced in F. S. Drake's *Town of Roxbury.*

1833. See 1819.

1835. *Plan of Boston* (4 × 2¾ inches), by Annin; peninsula only; in *Boston Almanac.*

1835. *Map of Boston* (21 × 21 inches); includes Charlestown and Lechmere Point; engraved by G. G. Smith.

1835. *Map of Boston* (31 × 22 inches); drawn by Alonzo Lewis; engraved by G. W. Boynton; published by the Bewick Company.

1836. *Map of Massachusetts*, from surveys ordered by the Legislature in 1830; has a marginal map of Boston (5⅝ × 4⅞ inches); published by Otis, Broaders, & Co.

1837. *Map of Boston* (5½ × 5 inches); engraved by Boynton for *Boston Almanac;* used in later years.

1837. *Chart of Boston Harbor;* surveyed by B. F. Perham; directed by commissioners (L. Baldwin, S. Thayer, and James Hayward) appointed March, 1835.

1837. *A Plan of South Boston*, old bridge to free bridge; surveyed and drawn by B. F. Perham, — L. Baldwin, S. Thayer, and J. Hayward, commissioners.

1837. *A Plan of South Boston, East Boston, and Charlestown;* surveyed and drawn by B. F. Perham, — L. Baldwin, S. Thayer, and J. Hayward, commissioners.

1837. A Plan of Cambridge Bridge, and Boston and Roxbury Milldam; was surveyed and drawn by B. F. Perham, under authority of L. Baldwin, S. Thayer, and J. Hayward, commissioners; and of the same date and authority one of Cambridgeport, East Cambridge, and Charlestown. [*No title.*]

1837. A Plan of Cambridgeport, East Cambridge, Charlestown, Chelsea, East Boston, and South Boston; drawn by B. F. Perham, under the authority of the commissioners, L. Baldwin, S. Thayer, and J. Hayward. [*No title.*]

1838. *Plan of Boston* (15 × 11 inches); in T. G. Bradford's *Illustrated Atlas of the United States*, Boston.

1838. *Plan of Boston* (15½ × 9½ inches), by Hazen Morse and J. W. Tuttle; in *Boston Directory*, 1839, and in later years.

1839. *Plan of Boston* (18 × 17 inches), showing Governor's and Castle islands; engraved by G. W. Boynton for Nathaniel Dearborn; issued with various dates, and published from 1860 to 1867, with alterations, by E. P. Dutton & Co. It is based on the 1835 map of Lewis.

1839. *A Plan of South Boston, showing the additional wharves since* 1835, *also harbor line recommended by Commissioners in* 1839; drawn by G. P. Worcester, — H. A. S. Dearborn, J. F. Baldwin, C. Eddy, commissioners.

1839. A plan of Charlestown, Chelsea, and East Boston, showing the harbor line; was drawn by G. P. Worcester under the authority of the commissioners, H. A. S. Dearborn, J. F. Baldwin, and C. Eddy. [*No title*].

1839. A plan of Cambridgeport, East Cambridge, and Charlestown, showing the harbor line; recommended by the commissioners, H. A. S. Dearborn, J. F. Baldwin, and C. Eddy. [*No title*].

1841. *Boston and Vicinity*, by Nathaniel Dearborn. It follows the large State map.

1842. *Boston and Vicinity* (4 × 4 inches); in Mitchell's *Traveller's Guide through the United States;* issued with later dates.

1842. *Map of Boston* (14 × 11½ inches); engraved by Boynton for Goodrich's *Pictorial Geography.*

1842. *Map of Boston*, including the Charlestown peninsula (15 × 12 inches); engraved by R. B. Davies for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, London.

1843. *Map of the City of Roxbury* (34 × 25 inches); surveyed in 1843 by Charles Whitney; published in 1849; scale, 1,320 feet to 1 inch.

1844. *Topographical Map of Massachusetts*, by Simeon Boyden, shows Boston Harbor, with considerable detail, on a size of about 5 × 5 inches.

1844. *Map of Boston* (11½ × 9 inches); peninsula only; in Dickinson's *Boston Almanac.*

1844. *Map of East Boston* (34 × 21 inches), by R. H. Eddy; drawn by John Noble, June, 1844.

1846. *Map of Boston*, including East and South Boston; engraved by G. G. Smith

1846. *Mystic River;* J. Hayward, E. Lincoln, Jr., commissioners.

1846. *Charles River to the head of tide waters;* drawn by L. Briggs, Jr.,— J. Hayward, and E. Lincoln, commissioners.

1846. *Plan of part of the City and harbor, showing lines of high and low water;* by G. R. Baldwin.

1846. *South Bay;* J. Hayward, E. Lincoln, Jr., commissioners.

1847. *Boston Harbor and the Approaches;* from a trigonometrical survey, under the direction of A. D. Bache, by commissioners S. T. Lewis and E. Lincoln.

1847. *Plan of Boston;* an original manuscript plan, made by W. S. Whitwell for the water commissioners; in the city surveyor's department. See *City Document*, 1879, No. 119.

1847. *Chart of the Inner Harbor;* T. G. Cary, S. Borden, E. Lincoln, commissioners; A. D. Bache, superintendent United States coast-survey.

1848. *Plan of the City of Charlestown, made by order of the City Council from actual survey; by Felton & Parker, and Ebenr. Barker. Scale,* 400 *feet to an inch.* Lithographed by J. H. Bufford, Boston. (32½ × 25 inches.)

1848. *Map of Boston*, including South and East Boston, by N. Dearborn.

1848. In N. Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, and engraved by him, appeared these maps: 1. *Plan of Boston* (6 × 4¾) inches; 2. *Boston and Vicinity* (3 × 4 inches); 3. *Boston Harbor* (4¾ × 8 inches). These maps appeared in other of Dearborn's publications about Boston, *Guides*, etc.

1849. *Boston and Vicinity* (11 × 9½ inches); in *Boston Almanac*, and in Homans's *Sketches of Boston.*

1849. J. H. Goldthwait's *Railroad Map of New England* has a marginal map (2½ × 2½ inches) of Boston and vicinity.

1849. See Roxbury map of 1843.

1849. *Chelsea Creek, between East Boston and Chelsea. Exhibiting the circumscribing line to which wharves may be extended;* surveyed by J. Low and J. Noble, — S. T. Lewis, and E. Lincoln, Jr., commissioners.

1850. *Map of Boston* (11 × 9½ inches); engraved by Boynton for the *Boston Almanac.*

1850. *Map of Dorchester* (36 × 28 inches); surveys made by Elbridge Whiting for S. Dwight Eaton; lithographed by Tappan and Bradford.

1850. *Inner Harbor, showing commissioners' lines proposed by S. Greenleaf, J. Giles, and E. Lincoln, commissioners.*

1850. *South Bay;* S. Greenleaf, J. Giles, and E. Lincoln, commissioners.

After this date the maps are very numerous.

Justin Winsor.

THE

MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.

The Revolutionary Period.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY THE REV. EDWARD G. PORTER,

Pastor of the Hancock Church, Lexington.

WHATEVER period we fix upon as the beginning of the American Revolution, we are sure to find some preceding event which, in a greater or less degree, might justly claim recognition on that account. It has generally been conceded that the war opened with the outbreak of hostilities on the morning of April 19, 1775; and that opinion will probably never be reversed. But as there were reformers before the Reformation, so there were many public acts in the Province deemed revolutionary before the memorable engagement on Lexington Common. Blood had been previously shed in a collision between the king's troops and American citizens in the streets of Boston. Remonstrances against the arbitrary measures of the British Government had repeatedly taken the shape of open and defiant resistance. The Congress of 1765 had issued a Declaration of Rights which, though accompanied by expressions of loyalty to the king, was a very pronounced step towards colonial union and independence. The utterances of Franklin, of Otis, and of Samuel Adams, and the favor with which they were received, clearly indicated the ardent aspirations of the people for political liberty. Every successive encroachment of the Crown was met by an immediate and determined protest. For years the public mind had been in a state of such chronic agitation that the peace was at any time liable to be disturbed by acts of violence.

It is greatly to the credit of the colonists, as British subjects, that the final rupture was so long in coming. They would certainly have been justified in the judgment of mankind had they precipitated rebellion in the

earlier stages of their oppression. When we remember what indignities had been heaped upon them ever since the abrogation of the charter in 1684; when we recall the sufferings to which they were subjected by the passage of the numerous navigation laws restricting their commerce and prostrating their industries; when we bear in mind that the affection, which for a century and a half the colonists sincerely cherished for the mother country, was never cordially reciprocated, — we are not surprised that a feeling of estrangement at last grew up among them. The wonder is that it did not assert itself long before. For, be it remembered, the spirit of freedom which took up arms in 1775 was not a sudden development nor an accidental discovery. The people had always had it. They brought it with them from the Old World, where, from the days of King John, it had been the birthright of the English race.[1]

And so the Revolution, when it came, was only the assertion of this old principle, — a fundamental principle with the colonists, and one which they had never surrendered. Under its guidance they had repeatedly engaged in acts which they considered lawful and patriotic, but which the officers of government condemned as refractory, rebellious, or treasonable. These public acts, extending through many years, constitute no unimportant part of our history, since they contributed largely to bring about the final issue, and, by their close relation to subsequent events, belong to the Revolutionary period.

The excitement in Boston during the winter of 1760–61, connected with the application of officers of the customs for writs of assistance in searching houses for contraband goods, must ever be regarded as one of the most important of the early movements foreshadowing the approaching conflict. To understand the bearing of this event, it is necessary to take a glance at the condition of political affairs at that time.

George III. had just come to the throne. Canada had been conquered from the French. England, flushed with victory, was yet oppressed with a heavy debt; and the attention of her ministers was turned to the system of colonial administration with a view to a large increase of the revenue. The Colonies came out of the war with many losses, to be sure, but trained and strengthened by hardship, encouraged by success, and eager to return to the pursuits of peace. The population was increasing; new and valuable lands were occupied; and business began to revive with extraordinary rapidity.

From this period we can distinctly trace the growth of two opposing political principles, both of which had existed in New England side by side from the very beginning with only an occasional clashing, but which now were destined to contend with each other in an irrepressible conflict.

[1] [The development of the spirit is more admirably traced than elsewhere in Richard Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*. The inevitable outcome of independence was not faced seriously till quite late. For references in this matter see Winsor's *Handbook*, p. 102. — ED.]

These principles found expression in the two parties long existing,[1] but which now began to draw apart more and more; namely, the party of freedom, and the party of prerogative, — the former insisting upon the right of self-government under the Crown, and the latter maintaining the authority of the Crown in the place of self-government. The question at issue was a radical one, and upon it turned the whole history of the country.

Without stopping to discuss the weakness of England's position, the want of statesmanship in her councils, and the strange infatuation with which she pursued her fatal policy, we cannot overlook certain acts of trade which at this time were enforced by the Court of Admiralty, and which were designed to make the enterprising commercial spirit of America tributary to Great Britain. Much of the mischief brought upon the Colonies can be traced to the Board of Trade, — a powerful organization devised originally by Charles II. and re-established by William III. to regulate the national and colonial commerce. Though only an advisory council, having no executive power, its influence with the king and ministry was such that its recommendations were usually adopted. Burke[2] speaks of this notable body as a kind of political "job, a sort of gently-ripening hot-house, where eight members of Parliament receive salaries of a thousand a year for a certain given time, in order to mature, at a proper season, a claim to two thousand." The Board was intended to make the Colonies "auxiliary to English trade. The Englishman in America was to be employed in making the fortune of the Englishman at home."[3]

At the time of which we are now speaking, a profitable though illicit trade had sprung up between the northern colonies and the West Indies. Instructions were sent to the colonial governors to put a stop to this trade. Francis Bernard, late Governor of New Jersey, and a well known friend of British authority, having succeeded Pownall as Governor of Massachusetts, informed the Legislature in a speech shortly after his arrival "that they derived blessings from their subjection to Great Britain." The Council, in a carefully worded reply, joined in acknowledging the "happiness of the times," but instead of recognizing their "subjection," they spoke only of their "relation" to Great Britain; and the House, weighing also its words, spoke of "the connection between the mother country and the provinces on the principles of filial obedience, protection, and justice."[4] An opportunity soon occurred to show that the difference in language between the Royal Governor and the General Court was a deep-seated difference of principle and of purpose.

For many years the custom-house officers had availed themselves of their position to accumulate large sums, especially from a misuse of forfeit-

[1] [They were exemplified in the long struggle for the maintenance of the first charter (see Mr. Deane's chapter in Vol. I.), and in the conflict over the royal governors' salaries subsequently (see Dr. Ellis's chapter in Vol. II). — ED.]

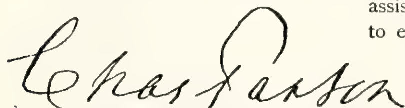
[2] *Speech on the Economical Reform.*

[3] Palfrey, *History of New England*, vol. iv. p. 21.

[4] Barry, *Hist. of Mass.*, ii. 256; Bancroft, iv. 378; and Dr. Ellis's chapter in Vol. II. of this History.

ures under the old Sugar Act of 1733. This practice, added to the official rigor and party spirit with which they enforced the commercial laws, led to a general and deep-seated feeling of antipathy towards them on the part of the merchants.[1] This antipathy was greatly aggravated by a decision in the Superior Court against the treasurer of the Province, and in support of the attitude of the officers of customs.[2]

In November, 1760, Charles Paxton,[3] who was the head of the customs in Boston, instructed a deputy in Salem to petition the Court for "writs of assistance," to enable them forcibly to enter dwelling-houses and warehouses in the execution of their duty. Exceptions were at once taken to this application, and a hearing was asked for by James Otis, an ardent young patriot, whose connection with this case forms one of the most brilliant chapters in our history. At the first agitation of the question he held the post of advocate-general for the Colony, but rather than act for the Crown he had resigned the position. "This is the opening scene of American resistance.[4] It began in New England, and made its first battle-ground in a court-room. A lawyer of Boston, with a tongue of flame and the inspiration of a seer, stepped forward to demonstrate that all arbitrary authority was unconstitutional and against the law."[5] The trial came on in February, 1761. Thomas Hutchinson, who had just succeeded Stephen Sewall as chief-justice, sat with his four associates, "with voluminous wigs, broad bands, and robes of scarlet cloth," in the crowded council chamber of the old Boston town house, "an imposing and elegant apartment, ornamented with two splendid full-length portraits of Charles II. and James II." The case was opened for the Crown by Jeremiah Gridley as the king's attorney, and the validity of writs of assistance was maintained by an appeal to statute law and to English practice. Oxenbridge Thacher calmly replied with much legal and technical ability, claiming that the rule in English courts was not applicable in this case to America. James Otis[6] now appeared for the inhabitants of Boston, and in an impassioned speech of over four hours in length he swayed both the court and the crowded audience with marvellous power. He said: —



[1] A petition was sent to the General Court at this time, charging the officers of the Crown with appropriating to their own use moneys belonging to the Province. This petition was signed by over fifty leading merchants, whose names may be found in Drake's *Hist. of Boston*, 657, *note*.

[2] Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, iii. 89–92; Minot, *Hist. of Mass.*, ii. 80–87; Barry, 262, 263.

[3] [There is a portrait of Paxton in the Mass. Hist. Society's gallery. One, supposed to be by Copley, is in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. It is not recognized by Perkins. — Ed.]

[4] John Adams to the Abbé Mably. *Works*, v. 492.

[5] Bancroft, iv. 414.

[6] This eloquent champion of liberty was a native of Barnstable, and a graduate of Harvard in 1743. He began the practice of law at Plymouth, but two years later removed to Boston, where he rose to distinction as an earnest advocate of his country's rights. His father, the elder Otis, was a distinguished politician and Speaker of the House, and a candidate for the vacant judgeship which Governor Bernard had given to Hutchinson. See Tudor's *Life of Otis;* Hutchinson, iii. 86, *et seq.;* Barry, pp. 258–259.

"I am determined, to my dying day, to oppose, with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments, of slavery on the one hand and villany on the other, as this writ of assistance is. . . . I argue in favor of British liberties at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of the Crown. I oppose that kind of power the exercise of which, in former periods of English history, cost one King of England his head and another his throne."

Otis then proceeded to argue that while special writs might be legal, the present writ, being general, was illegal. Any one with this writ might be a tyrant. Again, he said, this writ was perpetual. There was to be no return, and whoever executed it was responsible to no one for his doings. He might reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him. The writ was also unlimited. Officers might enter all houses at will, and command all to assist them; and even menial servants might enforce its provisions. He said: —

"Now the freedom of one's house is an essential branch of English liberty. A man's house is his castle; and while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince. This writ, if declared legal, totally annihilates this privilege. Custom-house officers might enter our houses when they please, and we could not resist them. Upon bare suspicion they could exercise this wanton power. . . . Both reason and the Constitution are against this writ. The only authority that can be found for it is a law enacted in the zenith of arbitrary power, when, in the reign of Charles II., Star Chamber powers were pushed to extremity by some ignorant clerk of the exchequer. But even if the writ could be elsewhere found, it would still be illegal. All precedents are under the control of the principles of law. . . . No acts of Parliament can establish such a writ. Though it should be made in the very words of the petition it would be void, for every act against the Constitution is void." [1]

Notwithstanding this forcible argument, and the soul-stirring eloquence with which it was presented, it did not prevail. The older members of the

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that this celebrated speech, which, in the judgment of many, originated the party of Revolution in Massachusetts, was never committed to writing. For such fragments of it as we have we are indebted to a few notes taken at the time, and to some incidental allusions found in letters of Bernard and Hutchinson. John Adams, late in life, "after a lapse of fifty-seven years," wrote out, by request, as much as he could remember of the argument of the speech. See Minot, ii. 91–99; Tudor's *Life of Otis*; Bancroft, iv. 416, *note*; Correspondence of John Adams and Mrs. Warren in 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iv. 340; *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.* Aug. 1860; Adams's *Life and Works of John Adams*, i. 59, 81, 82; ii. 124, 523, 524. [The case can be studied from a contemporary point of view in the reports made by the Josiah Quincy of that day, of cases in the Massachusetts Superior Court, 1761–1772, which were published in 1865, edited by his great-grandson General Samuel M. Quincy, with an appendix on the writs of assistance by Horace Gray, the present Chief-Justice of the Commonwealth. The late Horace Binney of Philadelphia wrote of the book, at the time, to Miss E. S. Quincy: "I have now read the reports, and with great satisfaction. They had good law in Massachusetts in the days of your grandfather, as well as good lawyers and a good reporter. Mr. Gray's appendix is one of the most clear, accurate, and exhaustive expositions that I have read, and has brought me much better instruction than I had before. I rather think they were legal under the act of Parliament, but I cannot believe they were constitutional, either here or in England, except as anything an act of Parliament does is constitutional." — Ed.]

court were favorably disposed; but they yielded to the solicitations of Hutchinson, who proposed to continue the cause to the next term, in order, meanwhile, to apply to England for definite instructions. In due time the

James Otis[1]

answer came, in support of his well known position; and the court, with the semblance of authority rather than law, decided that the writs of assistance should be granted whenever the revenue officers applied for them.[2]

[1] [This cut follows a painting by Blackburn, in 1755, now owned by Mrs. Henry Darwin Rogers, by whose permission it is here copied. Having been more than once before engraved (see A. B. Durand's in Tudor's *Life of Otis;* another by I. R. Smith; and a poor one in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*), it was admirably put on steel by Schlecht, in 1879, for Bryant and Gay's *United States*, iii. 332. There is a genealogy of the Otis family in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* iv. and v.; also see Freeman's *History of Cape Cod.* Otis at one time lived where the Adams Express Company's building on Court Street now is. No American has received a more splendid memorial than Crawford has bestowed on Otis in the statue in the chapel at Mount Auburn. See an estimate of Otis in Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] Hutchinson, iii. 96; Bancroft, iv. 418; Barry, p. 267.

But Thacher and Otis had not spoken in vain.[1] They had electrified the people, and scattered the seeds which soon germinated in a spirit of combined resistance against the encroachments of unlawful power. Among those attending the court was the youthful John Adams, who had just been admitted as a barrister, and whose soul was ready to receive the patriotic fire from the lips of Otis. "It was to Mr. Adams like the oath of Hamilcar administered to Hannibal. It is doubtful whether Otis himself, or any person of his auditory, perceived or imagined the consequences which were to flow from the principles developed in that argument."[2] Patriots were created by it on the spot, — men who awoke that day as from a sleep, and shook themselves for action. Every one felt that a crisis was approaching in the affairs of the Province, if indeed it had not already come.

In tracing the causes which led to the final independence of America, it is always to be borne in mind that independence, in the political sense of the word, was not what the colonists originally desired. They were proud of their position as British subjects; and not until their loyalty had endured a long series of shocks, did it occur to any one that a separation was either possible or desirable. This will explain the docility with which the people of New England submitted to gross abuses and high-handed political measures through a period of over thirty years without doing more than to assert their rights, and to seek peaceable means of redress. They loved the mother country, and rejoiced in her prosperity.[3] Her history, her greatness, her triumphs, were all theirs. Their literature, their laws, their social life, their religious faith, were all English. Most of the towns and counties in Massachusetts were named after those in England, showing the affection the colonists had for the country from which they came. The architecture of Boston houses was almost an exact reproduction of that which prevailed in London or Bristol. A relationship of blood, of affection, and of interest was maintained by the closest communication which that age afforded. Packets were continually plying between the two countries; personal and business correspondence was frequent; and, in ordinary times, this intimacy was not affected by the official character and conduct of those who represented British authority on these shores. If the exercise of that authority had not exceeded its just limits, it would certainly have been a long time before the colonists would have demanded or accepted anything like a political separation. They were not adventurers, seeking capital out of conflict, but peaceable, industrious, law-abiding citizens; asking only for equality with their fellow-subjects, and deliverance from special and unequal legislation. They knew their rights under the charter, and were resolved to maintain them; and in this they were simply true to the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race

[1] [The lawyers engaged in this cause are characterized in the chapter in Vol. IV. by Mr. John T. Morse, Jr. — ED.]

[2] C. F. Adams's *Life of John Adams*, i. 81.

[3] Greene, *Historical View of the American Revolution*, pp. 5, 6.

from which they sprang. Their lot was cast in troublous times, but the trouble was not of their fomenting. They never invoked revolution, but were driven to it at last against their will by the stern logic of events. One of these events has already been described; but properly speaking, the great struggle did not begin with the excitement attending the application for writs of assistance. That excitement did not affect the country at large, nor did it seriously disturb the loyalty of the people of Boston. It led to much discussion and speculation, but to no organized resistance.

The first direct occasion for the uprising in America was the attempt on the part of the British Government to raise a revenue from the Colonies without their consent and without a representation in Parliament. Upon this turned the whole controversy, which lasted more than ten years and terminated in the final appeal to arms.

After the Peace of Paris,[1] England took a position of undisputed supremacy among the great powers of Europe. Her political and diplomatic influence was greatly increased by her military successes and her new territorial acquisitions. But this pre-eminence was attended by an exhausted treasury, and the first important question for her statesmen to ask was, how to increase the revenue. The American colonies, it was known, were gaining rapidly in population and wealth. There was no doubt of their ability to furnish large sums to the Crown. The people were loyal, and would be likely to sustain further draughts upon their resources.

So reasoned Charles Townshend, first lord of trade and secretary for the colonies in the new ministry formed by the Earl of Bute. No sooner did Townshend take office than he was ready with his audacious scheme to ignore charters, precedents, laws, and honor; to abrogate the rights and privileges of colonial legislatures; and to give Parliament absolute authority to tax an unwilling people to whom the privilege of representation had never been granted.

Townshend's scheme, in the form in which he presented it, did not succeed; but shortly after, — in March, 1763, — Grenville, first lord of the admiralty, eager to advance the interests of British trade, brought in a bill "for the further improvement of his majesty's revenue of the customs," authorizing naval officers on the American coast to act as custom-house officers. This bill soon passed both Houses and became a law.[2]

George Grenville

Bute's ministry was of short duration. Grenville soon took his place, supported by Egremont and Halifax, and retaining Jenkinson as principal secretary of the treasury. This triumvirate ministry was so unpopular as to become a "general joke;"[3] and was called "the three Horatii," "the

[1] Signed in February, 1763.

[2] Bancroft, v., 92; Barry, ii. 278.

[3] Walpole to Mann, April 30, 1763. See Lord Mahon (Stanhope), *History of England*, xli.

Athanasian administration," a "sort of Cérberus," a "three-headed monster, quieted by being gorged with patronage and office."[1]

One of Grenville's earliest measures was a bill for enforcing the Navigation Acts, in which he met with no opposition from Parliament or the King. His next plan was to provide for the army in America by taxing the Colonies. Upon this matter he consulted the board of trade, to ascertain "in what mode least burdensome and most palatable to the Colonies they can contribute toward the support of the additional expense which must attend their civil and military establishment."[2] The head of the board of trade was now the young Earl of Shelburne, an Irish peer, who was beginning to have great influence in British councils. On many questions he was a follower of Pitt, and was naturally opposed to extending the authority of Parliament. His reply gave no encouragement to the ministry; yet they continued pursuing their favorite project, and did all in their power to create a public sentiment in its favor. Before any action was taken Egremont died, and Shelburne was succeeded by the Earl of Hillsborough. Grenville now renewed his exertions for the passage of a revenue bill; and at a meeting of the lords of the treasury — Grenville, North, and Hunter — in Downing Street, on the morning of September 22, a minute was adopted directing their secretary, Jenkinson, "to write to the commissioners of the stamp duties to prepare a draught of a bill to be presented to Parliament for extending the stamp duties to the Colonies."[3] In obedience to this order the famous Stamp Act was prepared, and subsequently presented to Parliament. Probably its origin is not due to any one man. Bute thought of it, Jenkinson elaborated it, North supported it, Grenville demanded it, and England accepted it. It has generally been called, and with good reason, Grenville's measure. Whatever of credit or of odium attaches to it must be given to him. He did not expect the favor of the Colonies, but he was anxious to secure support at home; and as there was some doubt of the bill's passing without an exciting debate, he did not press the matter at once. Hoping also, possibly, to conciliate the Colonies, he yielded to the urgent solicitations of some of their representatives[4] who maintained that the proposed stamp duty was "an internal tax," and therefore that it would be better to "wait till some sort of consent to it shall be given by the several assemblies, to prevent a tax of that nature from being levied without the consent of the Colonies."[5] And so, "out of tenderness to the Colonies," the bill was not brought in for a year.

Meanwhile the Administration succeeded in carrying a measure, April 5, 1764, imposing duties on various enumerated foreign commodities imported into America, and upon colonial products exported to any other

[1] Wilkes to Earl Temple, in *Grenville Papers*, ii. 81.

[2] Bancroft, v. 107.

[3] *Treasury Minutes*, Sept. 22, 1763; Jenkinson's Letter, Sept. 23, 1763; Bancroft, v. 151.

[4] Thomas Penn and William Allen, of Pennsylvania; and Richard Jackson, his own private secretary.

[5] *Grenville Correspondence*, ii. 393; *Massachusetts Gazette*, May 10, 1764; Bancroft, v. 183; Barry, p. 284; Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, i. 318, 319.

place than Great Britain. A heavy duty was also laid upon molasses and sugar. To enforce the provisions of this bill, enlarged power was given to the vice-admiralty courts, and penalties under the act were made recoverable in these courts.[1]

The news of the passage of the Sugar Act stirred up an intense commotion in all the maritime towns of America; the merchants everywhere held meetings, adopted memorials to the assemblies, and sent protests to England. In Boston, James Otis prepared a *Statement of the Rights of the Colonies*, and Oxenbridge Thacher expressed similar views in a pamphlet entitled *Sentiments of a British-American*.[2] A committee — Otis, Cushing, Thacher, Gray, and Sheafe — was also appointed to correspond with the other Colonies; and circulars were sent out stating the dangers that menaced "their most essential rights," and desiring the "united assistance" of all to secure, if possible, a repeal of the obnoxious acts, and to "prevent a stamp act, or any other impositions and taxes, upon this and the other American provinces." [3]

The Legislature, which had been prorogued month after month by Governor Bernard, to impede its action, finally met in October. Letters were received from the agents in England, and an address to the King was prepared; but as it failed of acceptance with the Council, it gave place to a milder address to the House of Commons, stating the objections which had been urged against the Sugar Act, and praying for a further delay of the Stamp Act.[4]

With the year 1765 the long dreaded measure, which had come to be regarded as the very symbol of usurpation, came into effect. At the opening of Parliament in January, Grenville presented the American question as one of obedience to the authority of the kingdom; and shortly after, with the support of Townshend, Jenyns,[5] and others, he proposed a series of resolutions, fifty-five in number, embracing the details of the Stamp Act, — the essential feature being the requirement that all legal and business documents in the colonies should be written on printed or stamped paper, to be had only of the tax collectors. All offences under this act were to be tried in the admiralty courts, and the taxes were to be collected arbitrarily, without any trial by jury.

[1] Minot, ii. 155; Holmes, *Annals*, ii. 125, *et seq.;* Barry, ii. 286.

[2] Both published in Boston, June, 1764. The General Court sent a letter of instructions to Mr. Mauduit, the agent of Massachusetts in London, expressing the state of feeling. "If all the Colonies," says the letter, "are to be taxed at pleasure, without any representation in Parliament, what will there be to distinguish them, in point of liberty, from the subjects of the most absolute prince? Every charter-privilege may be taken from us by an appendix to a money bill, which, it seems, by the rules on the other side of the water, must not at any rate be petitioned against. To what purpose will opposition to any resolutions of the ministry be, if they are passed with such rapidity as to render it impossible for us to be acquainted with them before they have received the sanction of an act of Parliament? A people may be free and tolerably happy without a particular branch of trade; but without the privilege of assessing their own taxes, they can be neither." Minot, ii. 168–175; Bradford, i. 21, 22.

[3] Hutchinson, iii. 110; Minot, ii. 175.

[4] *Massachusetts Records; Journal House of Representatives*, 1764, p. 102.

[5] Bancroft, v. 231–234.

Grenville advocated his bill with many plausible arguments and explanations. He had evidently anticipated all the difficulties it would encounter in England, but he failed utterly to comprehend the situation it would create in America. As was expected, it passed in a full house, February 27, without serious opposition, obtaining a majority of five to one. Among those who spoke and voted against it the names of Jackson, Beckford, Conway, and Barré deserve especial mention, as they afterward received the thanks of the Province for their services.

Colonel Barré[1] will always be gratefully remembered by the American people in connection with this event. Townshend having said that the Colonies were planted by the care, nourished by the indulgence, and protected by the arms of England, Barré rose and said: —

> "*They planted by your care!* No! your oppressions planted them in America. . . . *They nourished up by your indulgence!* They grew by your neglect of them. . . . *They protected by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence. . . . And believe me, — remember I this day told you so, — the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still."[2]

"The sun of liberty is set," wrote Dr. Franklin to Mr. Thompson[3] the very night that the act was passed; "the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy."

The news of the passage of the Stamp Act reached Boston in April, and produced immediate alarm and indignation throughout the province.[4] Massachusetts and Virginia — "the head and the heart of the Revolution" — were the first to denounce the act, and they were soon followed by New York and Pennsylvania and all the other colonies. The determination was everywhere expressed that the act should never be executed. Sober men resisted it, because they saw that it would block the wheels of trade, prevent exchanges of property, interfere with all industry, and undermine their liberties, which they were not prepared thus to surrender. The case would have been entirely different if the colonists had levied these stamp duties

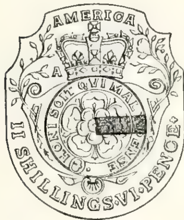
[1] Isaac Barré was born, 1726, of a Huguenot family living in Ireland; graduated at Trinity College, Dublin; entered the army and served in the French war; was a warm friend of Wolfe, and was wounded at Quebec. Through the influence of Lord Shelburne he entered Parliament in 1761, after the fall of Pitt's ministry. His speeches were spirited, and often aggressive and harsh. He denounced tyranny and corruption, and usually appealed to the moral sympathies of men. He had something of the vehement, fiery eloquence of Pitt, and was a debater to be feared. See article on "Colonel Barré and his Times," in *Macmillan's Magazine*, December, 1876. The town of Barre, in Massachusetts, which was first named for Hutchinson, was afterward named for Barré.

[2] [It was in his speech of Feb. 6, 1765, that Barré had called the opposing party in the colonies the "Sons of Liberty," and the name brought over was soon adopted by them. — Ed.]

[3] Afterward secretary of the Continental Congress.

[4] [The act was at once issued in a pamphlet by Edes and Gill, then keeping their press on the site of the present Adams Express Company's office, in Court Street. See Snow's *Boston*, p. 258. For the feelings engendered, see Warren's letter, in Frothingham's *Life of Warren*; and John Adams's *Works*, iii. 465. — Ed.]

upon themselves, through their own assemblies, as the American people have since freely done to meet the cost of war; or if they had been allowed a voice in the government which exercised this authority.



A STAMP.[1]

It was an important principle which they felt to be at stake, — a principle which had hitherto been maintained in their relations with the mother country, and which they could not now see violated without a distinct and determined resistance.

At this juncture the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the suggestion of Otis, proposed the calling of an American Congress, consisting of committees from each of the thirteen colonies, to meet at New York in October, "to consult together," and consider the matter of a "united representation to implore relief."

S T A M P - O F F I C E,
Lincoln's-Inn, 1765.

A

T A B L E

Of the Prices of Parchment and Paper for the Service of *America*.

Parchment.

Skins 18 Inch by 13, at Four-pence
22 —— by 16, at Six pence
26 —— by 20, at Eight-pence
28 —— by 23, at Ten-pence
31 —— by 26, at Thirteen-pence
} each.

Paper.

Horn at Seven-pence
Fools Cap at Nine-pence
Dº with printed Notices for Indentures } at 1s.
Folio Post at One Shilling
Demy —— at Two Shillings
Medium at Three Shillings
Royal —— at Four Shillings
Super Royal at Six Shillings
} each Quire.

Paper for Printing

News.

Double Crown at 14s.
Double Demy at 19s.
} each Ream.

Almanacks.

Book —— Fools Cap at 6s. 6d.
Pocket —— Polio Post at 20s.
Sheet —— Demy at 13s.
} each Ream.

While the leaders of the people were thus taking counsel of one another in solemn deliberations as to the course to be pursued, the popular feeling against the act, and the officers appointed to execute it, ran high in Boston. An occasion soon occurred to show how the people felt upon this subject. The birthday of the Prince of Wales, in August, was kept as a holiday. Crowds assembled in the streets, shouting "Pitt[2] and liberty!" Andrew Oliver, brother-in-law of Hutchinson, having been appointed stamp distributer, it was proposed that he be hung in effigy; and two days later, August 14, the public saw suspended from the old elm known as Liberty Tree[3] a stuffed figure of the obnoxious official, together with a grotesque caricature of Bute.[4] This pageant had

[1] [There are a number of these stamps in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society; but our engraving is cut from one lent by Dr. Samuel A. Green. The impression is on a blue soft paper, secured by a transverse bit of soft metal, with another square piece of paper bearing the royal monogram covering the metal on the reverse. The accompanying reduced *fac-simile* of a schedule of prices for stamps is from a copy of the *Broadside*, kindly loaned by Dr. Green. — ED.]

[2] A change had just taken place in the ministry, and Pitt had returned to office.

[3] [See the engraving in chapter iv. of the present volume, with *note*. This fourteenth of August became a memorable anniversary for the Sons of Liberty, who eight years later, 1773, celebrated it by a "festivity" on Roxbury Common. Drake, *Town of Roxbury*, p. 266. — ED.]

[4] A large boot, designed to represent Lord Bute, with a head and horns upon it. Bute had been frequently burned in effigy in England in

been prepared by a party of Boston mechanics,[1] called Sons of Liberty, who, prompted by the intense feeling of the hour, devised this method of expressing it. Great excitement followed, and thousands assembled to view the spectacle. When the news reached Hutchinson he ordered the sheriff to remove the effigies; but nothing was done until evening, when they were taken down by those with whom the proceedings originated, and carried in procession, escorted by a great concourse of people, through the street, into the Old State House, and under the council chamber where Bernard,

Boston Feb 13th 1766

Gentlemen

Your Humble Servants
The Sons of Liberty

Hutchinson, and their advisers were assembled. "Liberty, Property, and no Stamps!" was the shout which greeted the ears of those dignitaries. After repeated huzzas, the populace moved on to Kilby Street, where they destroyed a frame which the stamp distributer was said to be building for an office. Taking a portion of it, they proceeded to Fort Hill where Oliver lived, and burned the effigies in a bonfire before his house. Boston had

the guise of a jack-boot, — a pun upon his name as John, Earl of Bute. Bonfires of the jack-boot were repeated during several years both in England and America. Mahon (Stanhope), *History of England*, v. 25.

Bute

[One of the most considerate of the English writers is Grahame, *History of the United States*, iv. 183. See Winsor's *Handbook*, p. 4, for other references. — ED.]

[1] Benjamin Edes, printer; Thomas Crafts, painter; John Smith and Stephen Cleverly, braziers; John Avery, Jr., Thomas Chase, Henry Bass, and Henry Welles.

[2] [Subscription to a paper sent by the Order in Boston to the Sons of Liberty in New Hampshire, preserved in the *Belknap Papers*, iii., in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A silver punch-bowl, said to have been used by the Sons of Liberty, bought by William Mackay after the Revolution, and now owned by R. C. Mackay, was lately exhibited in the Old South Loan Collection. — ED.]

rarely witnessed such a scene. No one knew what would come of it. Bernard and Hutchinson took refuge in the Castle. The next day a proclamation was issued by the Governor, offering one hundred pounds reward to be paid upon the conviction of any person concerned in this transaction; [1] but no one cared to act as informant against such a strong current of popular feeling. A few days later, August 26, a mixed crowd collected near the Old State House, and proceeded to the house of the registrar of the admiralty, opposite the court house, and burned his public and private papers. They next plundered the house of the comptroller of customs, in Hanover Street, and then hurried to the mansion [2] of Lieut.-Governor Hutchinson, who had incurred the increasing dislike of the people in consequence of his subserviency to the Government, his greed of office, and his supposed influence in favor of the Stamp Act. Hutchinson and his family escaped; but the mob sacked his house and destroyed a large quantity of plate, pictures, clothing, books, and a valuable collection of manuscripts relating to the history of the colony.[3] This was a disgraceful proceeding, and would never have taken place but for the frenzy occasioned by the free use of liquor among the "roughs" who led on the mob.[4] A large public meeting was held the next morning in Faneuil Hall, and resolutions were passed strongly deprecating these lawless proceedings, and calling upon the selectmen to suppress such disorders in the future, and pledging the support of the inhabitants to preserve the peace.[5] That the leading Patriots had no sympathy whatever with this riotous outbreak is seen also in a letter written by Samuel Adams to Richard Jackson, the colonial agent in London, in which he denounced these proceedings as "high-handed outrages," of which the inhabitants, "within a few hours after the perpetration of the act, publicly declared their detestation. All was done the day following that could be expected from an orderly town, by whose influence a spirit

[1] Drake, *History of Boston*, p. 696.

[2] In Garden-court Street; taken down about 1830. See Introduction to Vol. II. p. xi.

[3] [Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, iii. 124; also see Introduction to Vol. I. of this History, p. xix. and Vol. II. p. 526; and Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 167. — ED.]

[4] [See contemporary accounts in Josiah Quincy's Diary, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1858; and Joshua Henshaw's letter, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1878, p. 268. Among the papers in the Charity Building is a copy of a deposition tending to show that the authorities had warning of the riot. Ebenezer Simpson testified to the selectmen that, Aug. 26, 1765, being at Spectacle Island, he met a man-of-war's boat, and one of the men told him that there was to be a mob in Boston that night, with intent to pull down the Lieut.-Governor's house, and that their ship's crew was sent for. Among these papers is also a copy of a letter from Warren to the selectmen, dated July 3, 1766, relative to the riot of the year before. He says he came into Boston about eight o'clock in the evening and overtook a much greater number of men than was usual, not in one large body but in little companies of four or five persons; and that the report of the disturbance being actually begun had already, at that time, reached Roxbury.

These papers also contain, as illustrating this period: a report on the condition of the North Battery in 1765, and estimates for rebuilding it in 1768; a report to the Governor on the population of Boston in 1765; and depositions as to trouble with British officers in 1768. These papers should be calendared. — ED.]

[5] [Drake's *Boston*, p. 701. There are on file in the city clerk's office various warning letters addressed to Benjamin Cudworth, deputy-sheriff, in a disguised hand; and also others to Stephen Greenleaf, sheriff, regarding Cudworth. They were read to the town, and pronounced "abusive." — ED.]

was raised to oppose and suppress it. It is possible these matters may be represented to our disadvantage, and therefore we desire you will take all possible opportunities to set them in a proper light." [1]

Throughout the colonies the same spirit of determined opposition to the Stamp Act was everywhere seen. Many of the officers appointed to distribute the stamps were compelled by the "unconquerable rage of the people" to resign, Oliver among the rest. Towns and legislatures hastened to make their declaration of rights, following one another "like a chime of bells," and planting themselves firmly upon the British Constitution and their chartered liberties. In the Massachusetts Assembly a series of fourteen resolves, prepared by Samuel Adams, asserting the inherent and inalienable rights of the people, were particularly considered and passed in a full house.[2] These resolves met with great favor, and were extensively published and quoted throughout the country. On October 7 the first American Congress ever held, composed of delegates from the different colonies, met in New York to take into consideration their rights, privileges, and grievances.[4] After mature deliberation in which members from all parts of the country participated, resolutions were passed embodying the warmest sentiments of loyalty to the King and respect for "that august body, the Parliament," and setting forth, in plain but temperate language, the reasonable demands of America, — such as the right to trial by jury, in opposition to the recent extension of the admiralty jurisdiction; and the right to freedom from taxation except through the colonial assemblies. The Congress also sent an address to the King, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to the House of Commons. Before adjourning, this Congress consummated a virtual union by which the colonies became, as the delegates prophetically expressed it, "a bundle of sticks which could neither be bent nor broken." [5]

Whereas a Declaration was yesterday inserted in my name and at my desire in some of the Boston News Papers, that I would not act as Distributor of Stamps within this Province, which Declaration I am informed is not satisfactory.

I do hereby in the most explicit and unreserved manner declare, that I have never taken any measures in consequence of my Deputation for that purpose, to act in the Office and that I never will directly or indirectly, by my self or any under me, make use of the said Deputation, or take any measures for enforcing the Stamp Act in America, which is so grievous to the People

Andw Oliver

Boston 17 Decemr 1765

Suffolk ss. Boston Decemr 17 1765 The honble Andrew Oliver Esqr Subscriber to ye above writing made oath to ye same.

Edm Dana Just. peace

OLIVER'S OATH.[3]

[1] Wells, *Life of Samuel Adams*, i. 63.

[2] Ibid., i. 74-77.

[3] [Mr. R. H. Dana, Jr., brought this oath to the attention of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in June, 1872, their *Proceedings* of that date showing a *fac-simile* of it; the present is somewhat reduced. —Ed.]

[4] [James Otis here showed his power of leadership. See Tudor's *Otis*; Bancroft, v.; Flanders's *Rutledge*; Ramsey's *South Carolina*. —Ed.]

[5] Bancroft, v. 346. [This congress was a response to the call of Massachusetts. Its proceedings are in *Almon's Tracts*. — Ed.]

In the mean time there had been further changes in the ministry, resulting in the elevation of the Rockingham Whigs to power. This announcement was received with great satisfaction, as it was understood that the new cabinet was more friendly to American claims. That this opinion had some foundation appears in the orders sent to the royal governors and to General Gage, commander of the forces at New York, only one week before the Stamp Act was to take effect, recommending "the utmost prudence and lenity," and advising a resort to "persuasive methods."[1]

When the first of November came, the people were prepared to prevent the execution of the odious act by refusing as one man to buy or use the stamps. In Boston they tolled the bells of the churches and fired minute-guns. Vessels in the harbor hung their flags at half-mast. "Liberty, Property, and no Stamps!" was the watchword passing everywhere from mouth to mouth. Effigies of Grenville and Huske[2] were suspended from Liberty Tree early in the morning, and in the afternoon were taken down and carried to the court house and to the North End, and then back to the gallows on the Neck, where they were hung for a short time, and afterward were cut down and torn to pieces. The crowd then quietly dispersed, and the night was entirely free from disturbance.[3]

As the Stamp Act had become a law, only stamped paper was legal; and as the people were firm in their determination not to use it, they were obliged to suspend business. The provincial courts were closed; marriages ceased; vessels were unmoored; and all commercial operations were paralyzed. Merchants in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston agreed not to import from England certain enumerated articles; and in general the people ceased using foreign luxuries, and turned their attention to domestic products. Frugality was the self-imposed order of the day, and it was not without its results.

In December a town-meeting was held in Boston, and a committee appointed to request of the Governor and Council that the courts might be opened.[4] At the opening of the Legislature in January, the House, in replying to the message of the Governor, demanded relief from the existing grievances. "The custom-houses are now open," they said, "and the people are permitted to transact their usual business. The courts of justice also must be opened, — opened immediately; and the law, the great rule of right, duly executed in every county in this province. This stopping of the course of justice is a grievance which this Court must inquire into. Justice must be fully administered without delay."[5] The Council laid this address upon the table; but, in an informal way, gave assurances that the courts

[1] *Massachusetts Gazette*, Feb. 6, 1766; *Debates in Parliament*, iv. 302-306.

[2] John Huske, a native of Portsmouth, N. H., who had removed to England and obtained a seat in the House of Commons, and taken a prominent part in favor of the Stamp Act.

[3] Drake, *Boston*, pp. 707, 708.

[4] This committee was composed of Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, John Hancock, Benjamin Kent, Samuel Sewall, John Rowe, Joshua Henshaw, and Arnold Welles; and they were authorized to employ Gridley, Otis, and John Adams as counsel. Diary of John Adams in *Works*, ii. 157, *et seq*; Barry, p. 307.

[5] *Massachusetts Gazette*, Jan. 23, 1766; Hutchinson, iii. 143.

would be opened at the next term, and business allowed to be transacted as usual.

This bold attitude of the American people caused no little annoyance and anxiety to the Administration. The case was, moreover, complicated by the change of sentiment in England regarding the justice of the policy initiated by Grenville. The English people were not prepared to repudiate their own love of liberty, nor to force upon any of their fellow-subjects the measures of absolutism against which their own glorious history had been a standing protest. Especially were the commercial and manufacturing towns in England dissatisfied with this policy; for it had reacted most unfavorably upon them, interrupting trade, injuring credit, and creating much suffering and discontent. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that both sympathy and interest prompted the nation to urge the repeal of an act which was as hostile to their own welfare as to that of America.

Upon the reassembling of Parliament in January, 1766, the King, in his speech, stated that "matters of importance had happened in America, and orders had been issued for the support of lawful authority."[1] The Lords responded, as usual, in terms of deference and co-operation; but in the House of Commons, which was unusually full, a debate ensued such as perhaps had never been heard before within its walls. The venerable Pitt, after an absence of more than a year, had arrived in town that morning. Though in a very feeble condition, and suffering from the gout, he took his seat while the debate was in progress, and soon after rose and made his ever memorable speech, — a masterpiece of fiery eloquence in which he denounced the Stamp Act, and demanded its immediate repeal. He said: —

"It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this House, but I must beg indulgence to speak of it with freedom. The subject of this debate is of greater importance than any that has ever engaged the attention of this House, — that subject only excepted when, nearly a century ago, it was a question whether you yourselves were to be bond or free. . . . On a question that may mortally wound the freedom of three millions of virtuous and brave subjects beyond the Atlantic Ocean, I cannot be silent."

He then proceeded to argue that as the colonies had never been really or virtually represented in Parliament, they could not be held "legally or constitutionally or reasonably subject to obedience to any money bill" of the kingdom. In replying to Grenville he said, a little later on: "The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion! I rejoice that America has resisted." Upon this the whole House started as if touched by an electric shock. Near the conclusion of his speech he said: —

"In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. . . . But in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the State,

[1] *Massachusetts Gazette*, March 27, 1766.

and pull down the Constitution along with her. . . . Upon the whole I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately; that the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. . . ." [1]

Thus spoke the Great Commoner; with what effect upon the minds of the House appeared in the current of sympathy which at once turned toward him, and which, a little later on, expressed itself in the famous repeal. Toward the last of the month the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole to consider petitions for the repeal, which had been presented by the merchants of London, Birmingham, Coventry, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and other towns. The sittings of this committee were continued more than two weeks. Among others, Benjamin Franklin, then a colonial agent in London, was summoned to the bar of the House; and his minute examination concerning the feelings and wishes of the Colonies contributed more to his personal fame than any previous occurrence in his life; and it is doubtful whether he ever wrote or said anything abler than his admirable replies on this occasion. In all that he said he was prompt and pertinent, accurate and concise, wise and true. The House of Commons listened to him for ten days, and must have been as much astonished at his answers as the whole American people were delighted with them.[2]

The committee who had listened to this remarkable examination soon "reported that it was their opinion that the House be moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the Stamp Act."

The crisis came on the night of February 21, when every seat was occupied, and the galleries, lobbies, and stairs were crowded with eager spectators. The debate was opened by Conway, one of the ministry, and a warm friend of the Colonies. He was followed by Jenkinson, Burke, Grenville,

[1] Bancroft, v. 382–396; *Debates in Parliament*, iv. 285–298.

[2] As a specimen of Franklin's shrewdness, take a few of his answers:—

"*Question.* — Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country and pay no part of the expense?

"*Answer.* — That is not the case. The Colonies raised, clothed, and paid during the last war near twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions.

"*Q.* — Were you not reimbursed by Parliament?

"*A.* — . . . Only a very small part of what we spent.

"*Q.* — Do you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty if it was moderated?

"*A.* — No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

"*Q.* — What was the temper of America toward Great Britain before the year 1763?

"*A.* — The best in the world. . . .

"*Q.* — And what is their temper now?

"*A.* — Oh, very much altered.

"*Q.* — Did you ever hear the authority of Parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

"*A.* — The authority of Parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

"*Q.* — If the Stamp Act should be repealed, and the Crown should make a requisition to the Colonies for a sum of money, would they grant it?

"*A.* — I believe they would.

"*Q.* — What used to be the pride of the Americans?

"*A.* — To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

"*Q.* — What is now their pride?

"*A.* — To wear their old clothes over again till they can make new ones." — Bigelow, *Life of Franklin*, i. 467–510; Sparks, *Franklin*, pp. 298–300.

and Pitt. About half-past one in the morning the division took place, and Conway's bill of repeal was carried triumphantly by a vote of two hundred and seventy-five against one hundred and sixty-seven. Pitt and Conway were tumultuously applauded as they left the House, while Grenville [1] was greeted with hisses. The final debate on the repeal was still more decisive. In the Lords the bill was carried by a majority of thirty-four; and on the day following, March 17, it received the reluctant sanction of the King, who spoke of it as "a fatal compliance." London was delighted with the result; the church bells were rung merrily; ships displayed their colors; the streets were illuminated; and a public dinner was given by the friends of America. In Boston the news was received with every conceivable demonstration of joy.[2] Liberty Tree was decked with lanterns; bells and guns, flags and music, illuminations and fireworks, proclaimed in unmistakable language the gratitude and loyalty of the people.[3] New York voted statues to the King and to Pitt. Virginia voted a statue to the King, and South Carolina one to Pitt. Maryland passed a similar vote, and ordered a portrait of Lord Camden. Boston had previously voted letters of thanks to Barré and Conway, and requested their portraits for Faneuil Hall.[4]

In the outburst of joy at the repeal, the public mind had not considered the full meaning of the accompanying declaratory act [5] claiming for Parliament absolute power to bind America "in all cases whatsoever." This act was a fatal mistake, and a wanton blow at the well known American principle of local self-government; for it soon became evident that the object of Parliament was, after all, political subjugation. This was precisely the point upon which the colonists had taken their stand. It was not the mere pecuniary loss involved in the enforcement of the stamp tax that they were considering, — they were abundantly able to pay that, — but it was the underlying question of right; and if that were not conceded, it would soon be found

[1] Walpole, ii. 299, 300.

[2] [Speaker Cushing had enclosed, June 22, 1766, a letter of thanks to the king, and the *fac-simile* on the next page is from Otis's letter to Cushing on this vote of thanks. The original is in the Lee papers in the University of Virginia Library. The principal demonstrations took place May 19, 1766. An obelisk was erected on the Common and decked with lanterns; Hancock illuminated his house and discharged fireworks in front of it from a stage; and these were responded to by similar demonstrations by the Sons of Liberty at the workhouse. Views of the obelisk were engraved by Revere, and one of them is given much reduced in Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 359. The earliest rumor of a repeal had appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, April 3, 1766, having come from Philadelphia two days before. See Thornton's *Pulpit of the Revolution*, p. 120, where is also Chauncy's discourse on the repeal. — Ed.]

[3] [A paper by General Gage concerning the Stamp Act and the revolutionary proceedings in Boston, is printed in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iv. 367. There is in the collection of Charles P. Greenough, Esq., of Boston (whose treasures have been very generously put at my disposal, and from which I have often drawn in this and the final volume), a letter from London merchants to those of Boston, offering congratulations and encouragement on account of the repeal of the Stamp Act. A similar letter from business correspondents was contributed to the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876, p. 260, by Mr. T. C. Amory. — Ed.]

[4] This was done at a town-meeting held Sept. 18, 1765. The portraits arrived in due time, and were hung in Faneuil Hall; but what became of them afterward is not known. They are supposed to have been removed when the British army had control of the town. Drake, pp. 703, 704. [See supplementary notes to the next chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[5] 6 George III. c. xii.

that the repeal was only a nominal and a temporary relief. Leading Patriots saw in this much to excite alarm; but for the time being, and for the sake of harmony, they were willing to remain silent.[1]

No well defined sentiment of union had as yet taken possession of the public mind. Not until it became evident that there was no other way of maintaining their freedom, did any of the Colonies think of measures tending to united action. One of the first to anticipate this necessity was Jonathan Mayhew, the patriotic pastor of the West Church in Boston, who, writing to his friend Otis one Lord's Day morning in June, 1766, said: —

"You have heard of the communion of churches; while I was thinking of this in my bed, the great use and importance of a communion of colonies appeared to me in a strong light. Would it not be decorous for our Assembly to send circulars to all the rest, expressing a desire to cement union among ourselves? A good

[1] Wells, *Life of Samuel Adams*, i. 116–118.

foundation for this has been laid by the Congress at New York; never losing sight of it may be the means of perpetuating our liberties."[1]

The possibility of such a union seems to have occurred to at least one English statesman at this time; for in the same month in which the above words were penned we find Charles Townshend boldly advocating in the House of Commons a radical measure aimed not only to secure a revenue, but also to prevent any such accessions of strength as the Colonies might gain by combined action. No man in the ministry was better informed than Townshend upon American affairs. He knew the resources of the people; he anticipated their rapid development; and the scheme which he now promulgated was expressly devised to make the whole colonial power tributary to the Crown. Therefore he favored the abolition of all their charters; and the substitution of a government in which the local assemblies should be restrained, a general congress forbidden, and the royal governors, judges, and attorneys become independent of the people.[2]

Townshend soon had further opportunities for prosecuting his scheme; for in the reconstruction of the ministry, which took place in the month of July, he was selected as chancellor of the exchequer by the Duke of Grafton, in the strangely incongruous administration of Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham. Townshend was the leading spirit in the new government, and availed himself of every opportunity to urge the advantages of an American civil list. He had been, with Grenville, a firm advocate of the Stamp Act. He ridiculed the distinction between internal and external taxes. He insisted that America should share the heavy financial burden of England.[3] In the absence of Chatham, who was most of the time suffering from feeble health, he dictated to the ministry its colonial policy. "I would govern the Americans," said he, "as subjects of Great Britain; I would restrain their trade and their manufactures as subordinate to the mother country. These, our children, must not make themselves our allies in time of war and our rivals in peace." With such purposes the resolute and reckless chancellor pushed his way into favor with Parliament, ignoring the scruples of his associates and defying the opposition of his enemies, until he succeeded in carrying the famous Townshend revenue bill through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. These acts levied a duty on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea; established a board of customs at Boston for collecting the whole American revenue; and legalized writs of assistance. The revenue was to be at the disposition of the King, and was to be chiefly employed in the support of officers of the Crown, to secure their independence of the local legislatures. "The die is thrown!" cried the Patriots of

[1] Bradford, *Life of Mayhew*, 428, 429. [See also Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] Bancroft, vi. 9, 10.

[3] Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, iii. 37 *et seq.*

Boston when they received the news of the passage of Townshend's bill; "the Rubicon is passed. . . . We will form an immediate and universal combination to eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing, imported from Great Britain. . . . Our strength consists in union; let us above all be of one heart and one mind; let us call on our sister Colonies to join with us in asserting our rights."[1] Governor Bernard having refused a petition to summon the Legislature, a town-meeting was called Oct. 28, 1767; and the inhabitants voted neither to import nor to use certain articles of British production. A committee was appointed to obtain subscribers to such an agreement, and the resolutions were extensively circulated throughout the country. The newspapers took up the subject with great warmth, and aided in a very important degree the formation of public opinion at this critical period. Able writers contributed timely letters, among which those written by a "Farmer of Pennsylvania"[2] attained a very wide celebrity for their calm and vigorous treatment of the great constitutional questions of the day. The communications sent by the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1768, to members of the Cabinet and to the provincial agent in London, contain the full argument respecting the claims of the colonies. These papers, as well as the petition to the king which accompanied them, and the circular-letter to the sister colonies which was issued shortly after, were all drafted by Samuel Adams, whose masterly grasp of the great political issues of the time attracted universal attention and gained a host of friends to the cause of liberty. The circular-letter just alluded to met with a very gratifying response from the other assemblies, and was a most efficient instrument in securing unity of purpose among the leaders of the people in all parts of the country. The publication of these important documents produced such an effect that the board of commissioners of the revenue immediately prepared a memorial to be sent to England, expressing apprehensions for their personal safety; complaining of the unwarrantable license of the American press,[3] of the non-importation league, and of New England town-meetings; and asking for assistance in the execution of the revenue laws; adding, that there was not a ship of war in the province, nor a company of soldiers nearer than New York.

This memorial, together with the reports of Bernard and Hutchinson, soon drew from Hillsborough, secretary for the colonies, an order sent to all the governors, bidding them use their influence with the assemblies to

[1] Barry, ii. 339.

[2] John Dickinson, afterward a member of the first Continental Congress. [To a letter of gratitude from Boston Dickinson returned a reply, which is preserved among the Charity Building papers, and is addressed "To the very respectable inhabitants of the town of Boston;" and expresses the "reverential gratitude" for the late letter received by him: —

PENNSYLVANIA, April 11, 1768.

The rank of the Town of Boston, the wisdom of her counsels, and the spirit of her conduct render, in my opinion, the approbation of her inhabitants inestimable. . . . Love of my country engaged me in that attempt to vindicate her rights and assert her interests, which your generosity has thought proper so highly to applaud. . . . Never, until my heart becomes insensible of all worldly things, will it become insensible of the unspeakable obligations which, as an American, I owe to the inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, for the vigilance with which they have watched over, and the magnanimity with which they have maintained, the liberties of the British colonies on this continent.

A FARMER.

— ED.]

[3] [See Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

take no notice of the "seditious" circular-letter, which was described as "of a most dangerous and factious tendency," calculated to inflame the minds of the people, to promote an illegal combination, and to excite open opposition to the authority of Parliament. The House of Representatives of Massachusetts was required, in His Majesty's name, to rescind their resolutions, and to "declare their disapprobation of the rash and hasty proceeding." In case of their refusal to comply, it was the King's pleasure that the Governor should immediately dissolve them.[1] At the same time General Gage, Commander-in-chief of the royal forces in America, was ordered to "strengthen the hands of the Government in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, enforce a due obedience of the laws, and protect and support the civil magistrates and the officers of the Crown in the execution of their duty."[2] Further peremptory orders were sent to Gage, in June, to station a regiment permanently in Boston; and the admiralty was directed to send one frigate, two sloops, and two cutters to remain in Boston harbor; and Castle William was to be put in readiness for immediate use.[3]

For about a month previous to this the ship of war "Romney" had lain at anchor in the harbor, and her commander had occasioned much trouble by violently impressing New England seamen, and refusing to give them up, even when substitutes were offered. The excitement arising from this was increased by the seizure of the sloop "Liberty" (June 10, 1768), belonging to John Hancock, for an alleged false entry. The popular outbreak in consequence of these proceedings, though resulting in no serious injury, was magnified by the commissioners into an insurrection, and made the occasion of still further appeals for personal protection, by force of arms, in the discharge of their duties.[4] The citizens, in response to a call for a legal town-meeting to consider the matter, gathered in such numbers at Faneuil Hall that they were obliged to adjourn to the Old South Meeting-house, where, with Otis as moderator, an address to the Governor was unanimously voted, and a committee of twenty-one appointed to present it.[5] At an adjourned meeting the next day (June 15), Otis strongly recom-

[1] Hillsborough to Bernard, April 22, 1768.

[2] Hillsborough to Gage, April 23, 1768.

[3] [The annexed heliotypes follow originals made by the British engineers not far from this time, and issued with DesBarres's series of coast charts. One represents the harbor from Fort Hill; the other is a view of the town from Willis's Creek, in East Cambridge. — Ed.]

[4] [There is an account of this seizure in Drake's *Boston*, p. 736. See John Adams's *Works*, ii. 215. A prominent leader in the mob which endeavored to prevent the sloop from being towed under the guns of the "Romney" was a Boston tradesman, Daniel Malcolm, who had a year or two before some pretty sharp altercations with the revenue officers, accompanied with vigorous action, so that he was found out to be not an easy person to deal with. The papers relating to these affairs of his are preserved among the Lee papers, in the libraries of Harvard College and the University of Virginia. Malcolm died shortly after, and they show his gravestone to-day in the Copp's Hill burying-ground, with its praises of him as "an enemy of oppression and one of the foremost in opposing the revenue acts on America;" and upon it are seen the bullet marks of the British soldiers, who used it as a target during the siege. Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 209. — Ed.]

[5] [This presentation took place at the Governor's house, on Jamaica Pond, where they were treated with wine, "which highly pleased [Bernard says] that part of them which had not been used to an interview with me." — Ed.]

mended peaceable and orderly methods of obtaining redress, and deprecated in the strongest terms all acts of mob violence, hoping that the cause of their grievances would yet be removed; and added: "If not, and we are called on to defend our liberties and privileges, I hope and believe we shall, one and all, resist even unto blood; but I pray God Almighty that this may never so happen."[1]

The Governor disclaimed having any responsibility for the occurrences complained of, but promised to stop impressments. Meanwhile, Hillsborough's instructions to Massachusetts to rescind her non-importation resolutions arrived, and were communicated in a message from Bernard to the General Court. Otis took the floor in reply, and spoke for two hours with even more than his accustomed vehemence, showing that it would be impossible for this House to rescind a measure of the previous House which had been already executed. He spoke respectfully of the King, but arraigned the course of the ministry and the legislation of Parliament with great severity. The subject occupied the attention of the House for nine days, under the guidance of a special committee.[2] The Governor communicated the threat to dissolve the Assembly in case they refused to comply, and pressed them for a decision. A recess was requested for consultation, but it was refused. The question was then put, in secret session, whether the House would rescind the resolution "which gave birth to their circular-letter to the several houses of representatives and burgesses of the other colonies." The vote was taken *viva voce*, and stood ninety-two nays against seventeen yeas. The answer to the Governor, informing him of their decision, stated that they regarded the circular-letter moderate and innocent, respectful to Parliament, and dutiful to the King; that they entertained sentiments of reverence and affection for both; that they, as subjects, claimed the right of petition jointly and severally, of correspondence, and of a free assembly; and that the charge of treason was unjustly brought against them. The Governor, following his instructions, thereupon closed the session, and the next day dissolved the General Court by proclamation. Thus was taken away the right of free discussion vested in the time-honored representative Assembly of Massachusetts. It was an act of arbitrary power, destined to recoil heavily upon those who enforced it. The other Colonies felt that their liberties were invaded as well, and sent the most cordial assurances of their sympathy and support. In this we can clearly see a new impulse given to the sentiment of union as a necessary means of mutual security. As dangers thickened, the people stood more and more together, determined to assert and defend their constitutional rights against the unlawful aggressions of imperial power. It soon became evident that the Administration had resolved upon employing the strong arm of military power to sustain its authority in the "re-

[1] *Boston News-Letter*, June 16 and 23, 1768.

[2] This committee consisted of Thomas Cushing (speaker), Mr. Otis, Samuel Adams (clerk), John Hancock, Colonel Otis, Colonel Bowers, Mr. Spooner, Colonel Warren, and Mr. Saunders.

Boston from Willis' Creek

A View of the Harbour of Boston taken from Fort Hill.

fractory" Province. Preparations were making to transfer two regiments from Halifax to Boston, and it was soon after announced that two others were expected from Ireland. This naturally led to a great excitement, and a town-meeting was called to consider what "wise, constitutional, loyal, and salutary measures" could be taken in the emergency. The Governor was requested to give information in regard to the troops, and to convene the Legislature. Upon his refusal, a convention of all the towns was proposed, to be held in Faneuil Hall within two weeks; and it was recommended that all the inhabitants should be provided with firearms and suitable ammunition;[1] and a day of fasting and prayer was appointed and observed in accordance with the New England custom.

The convention met on September 22, and was composed of representatives of nearly every settlement in the province. The same officers were chosen for chairman and clerk that filled those positions in the late Assembly, and the Governor was petitioned to "cause an assembly to be immediately convened." He refused to receive the petition, and denounced the convention as illegal, advising the members to separate at once, or they would "repent their rashness." The convention did not follow his advice, but continued in session six days, and reaffirmed the former declarations made by the General Court concerning their charter rights. The proceedings throughout were calm and moderate. A respectful petition to the king was prepared, in which they wholly disclaimed the charge of a rebellious spirit. An address to the people was also adopted, recommending submission to legal authority and abstinence from all participation in acts of violence. This was the first of those independent popular assemblies which soon began to exercise political power in the colonies. The Patriot leaders were wise and sagacious men, who, in asserting their rights, knew well how to keep the law on their side. When the proceedings of this convention were submitted to the attorney-general, and to the solicitor-general of England, to ascertain if they were treasonable, both declared that they were not. "Look into the papers," said De Grey, "and see how well these Americans are versed in the crown law. I doubt whether they have been guilty of an overt act of treason, but I am sure they have come within a hair's breadth of it."[2]

No sooner had the convention adjourned than the fleet arrived in the harbor, bringing two regiments, with artillery, under command of Colonel Dalrymple.[3] In response to a requisition for quarters in the town the council, and afterwards the selectmen, adhering to the law, declined to act, stating that the barracks at Castle Island were provided for that purpose.

[1] Hutchinson, iii. app. L.; *Boston News-Letter*, postscript, Sept. 22, 1768.

[2] Bancroft, vi. 206.

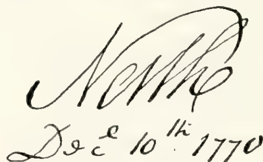
[3] [The Patriots had prepared to fire the beacon above the town, and had placed a broken tar-barrel in the skillet. This was perhaps the only time in which the surrounding country came near being roused in this way. Governor Bernard was informed of the movement, and sent Sheriff Greenleaf to remove the combustibles. Frothingham, *Life of Warren*, p. 80. An excellent likeness of Greenleaf, by Smibert, is owned by Mrs. S. G. Bulfinch, of Cambridge. — ED.]

On the first of October eight armed ships, with their tenders, approached the wharves, with cannon loaded and springs on the cables. The Fourteenth and Twenty-ninth regiments, and a part of the Fifty-ninth, with two field-pieces, landed at Long Wharf and marched with fixed bayonets, drums beating and colors flying, through the streets as far as the Common, where a portion of the troops encamped, the remainder being allowed by the Sons of Liberty, later in the day, to occupy Faneuil Hall.[1] We can easily imagine the surprise and indignation with which the people of Boston beheld this demonstration of authority. They keenly felt the insult offered to their loyalty, and though no open resistance was made it was soon apparent that such a state of things could only engender mutual hostility which might at any time break out in a disturbance of the peace. The odious terms "rebel" and "tyrant" were now spoken with increasing bitterness, and the lines were drawn more sharply than ever between Tory and Patriot. While Boston was thus in the hands of a hireling soldiery, her people waited anxiously for intelligence from abroad, hoping that their communications to the King and Parliament would meet with a favorable consideration;[2] but again they were doomed to disappointment. Changes had taken place in the cabinet, but there was no change in the purpose of the Government. Chatham had resigned; Shelburne was removed; and Lord North[3] had taken the place left vacant by the death of Townshend.[4] At the opening of Parliament, the King referred to Boston as being "in a state of disobedience to all law and government," and declared it to be his purpose "to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons" who had "but too successfully deluded numbers" of his subjects in America. An animated debate followed, in which it was said that the difficulties in governing Massachusetts were "insurmountable, unless its charter and laws should be so changed as to give the King the appointment of the council, and to the sheriffs the sole power of returning juries."

[1] [Paul Revere's plate, showing this landing, is given in Vol. II. p. 532. Mrs. Turrell says in her recollections, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1860, p. 150: "When the British troops came here they were lodged in a sugar-house in Brattle Square, which belonged to Mrs. Inman. I think there were three thousand of them. The officers lodged in the house of Madam Apthorp, in which I now live." But this paper is somewhat confused in other respects, if not in this. See John Adams's *Works*, ii. 213.—ED.]

[2] [There is in the Charity Building collection a draft of a letter from the selectmen, Nov. 12, 1768, to Pownall and De Berdt, as endorsed by William Cooper, "on the present deplorable condition of this town, . . . changed from a free city to an almost garrison state."—ED.]

[3] Lord North, eldest son of the Earl of Guilford, entered the cabinet at the age of thirty-five, and remained fifteen years, during the most critical period in English history. He was always a favorite of the king, and a recognized leader in the ministry. He never understood the character or claims of the American people, and consequently favored a mistaken policy towards them, to which he adhered throughout the war.



[4] At the early age of forty-one. Bancroft, in summing up the character of Townshend, aptly calls him "the most celebrated statesman who has left nothing but errors to account for his fame," vi. 99.

Burke defended the Colonies, and denounced as illegal and unconstitutional the order requiring the General Court to rescind their resolutions. Barrington accused the Americans as traitors, adding, "The troops have been sent thither to bring rioters to justice." Lord North defended the recent act of Parliament, and said that he would never think of repealing it until he should see America "prostrate at his feet."

"Depend upon it," said Hillsborough to one of the colonial agents, "Parliament will not suffer their authority to be trampled upon. We wish to avoid severities towards you; but if you refuse obedience to our laws the whole fleet and army of England shall enforce it."

The indictment against the Colonies was presented in sixty papers laid before Parliament. Both Houses declared that the proceedings of the Massachusetts Assembly, in opposing the revenue acts, were unconstitutional; that the circular-letter tended to create unlawful combinations; and that the Boston convention was proof of a design of setting up an independent authority; and both Houses proposed, under the provisions of an obsolete act of Henry VIII., to transport to England "for trial and condign punishment," in direct violation of trial by jury, the chief authors and instigators of the late disorders. In the famous debate of this session, Burke, Barré, Pownall, and Dowdeswell spoke eloquently in behalf of the Colonies; but the address and resolutions were carried by a large majority.

After being nearly a year without a Legislature, Massachusetts was again permitted by the Governor, in the name of the King, to send its representatives to a General Court convened, according to the charter, on the last Wednesday in May, 1769. The first business was a protest against the breach of their privileges, and a petition to the Governor to have the troops removed from Boston, as it was inconsistent with the Assembly's dignity and freedom to deliberate in the presence of an armed force. They declined to enter upon the business of supplies, or anything else except the consideration of their grievances. The Governor refused to grant their petition, alleging want of authority over His Majesty's forces; and after vainly waiting a fortnight for them to vote him his year's salary, he adjourned the Assembly to Cambridge, and informed them that he was about to repair to England to lay the state of the province before His Majesty. The Assembly thereupon passed a unanimous vote, one hundred and nine members being present, to petition the king "to remove Sir Francis Bernard[1] forever from this government."[2] It has always been believed that much of the difficulty between Massachusetts and Great Britain was owing to the total unfitness of Bernard for the important position which he held during nine eventful years. His frequent misrepresentations of the spirit and conduct of the colonists are a matter of record. He left no friends behind him. Indeed his departure was an occasion of public rejoicing. "The bells were rung, guns

[1] Bernard had recently received a baronetcy, "a most ill-timed favor, when he had so grievously failed in gaining the affections or the confidence of any order or rank of men within his province." Mahon, *History of England*, v. 241.

[2] *Journal*, House of Representatives, 1769, 36.

were fired from Mr. Hancock's wharf, Liberty Tree was covered with flags, and in the evening a great bonfire was made upon Fort Hill." [1]

Lieut.-Governor Hutchinson succeeded to the chair as chief magistrate. He was a native of Boston, was acquainted with public affairs, and for many years had held more important offices than any other man in the province; but his career had been so often marred by duplicity and avarice that very little hope was cherished of any improvement in the administration. His failure was in part owing to the difficulty he found in trying to serve both England and America, with a decided preference in favor of the former, at a time when the opinions and interests of the two countries were rapidly becoming distinct. He was not the man for the times.[2] When the Massachusetts Assembly, sitting at Cambridge, had refused to grant the supplies demanded by Bernard, that functionary prorogued it to the tenth of January. When that date arrived, Hutchinson, under arbitrary instructions from Hillsborough, prorogued it still further to the middle of March.

Meanwhile the non-importation agreements had become so general as to produce a visible effect upon British commerce. Exports from England to America had fallen off seriously, and English merchants were really injured more than the Americans by the narrow revenue policy of the Government. Lord North, perceiving this, caused a circular-letter to be sent to the Colonies, proposing to favor the removal of duties from all articles, except tea, enumerated in the late act. This was evidently a measure of expediency, dictated wholly by self-interest; and as by retaining the duty on tea there was no surrender of the obnoxious claim contained in the declaratory act, it did not materially affect the situation in America.

Boston at this time, in a legal town-meeting,[3] issued an *Appeal to the World*, prepared by Samuel Adams, vindicating itself from the aspersions of Bernard, Gage, Hood, and the revenue officers. The Appeal says: —

"We should yet be glad that the ancient and happy union between Great Britain and this country might be restored. The taking off the duties on paper, glass, and

[1] Hutchinson, iii. 254. [See Dr. Ellis's estimate of Bernard in Vol. II. of this History, p. 65. The Governor left his estate on Jamaica Pond, July 31, 1769, and embarked the next day from the Castle. Lady Bernard did not leave the estate till December, 1770. — ED.]

[2] Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay* deserves honorable mention as a work of rare ability and candor, for which students of our history will always be grateful. [See Dr. Ellis's estimate of Hutchinson's administration in Vol. II. p. 69; and that by Frothingham in his *Warren*, p. 107. — ED.]

[3] [Cooper, the town clerk, issued the warrant for this meeting, Sept. 28, 1769, and the meeting was held, October 4. A contemporary account (in the Chalmers papers, ii. 37, in the *Sparks MSS.* in Harvard College Library) says that Cooper read the letters to the meeting, "and took a good deal of pains to make the Governor appear as ridiculous as possible, which generally occasioned a grin of applause." Not long before this, the Sons of Liberty had dined together, Aug. 14, 1769, at Dorchester, and there is a list of their names in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, August, 1869. John Adams's *Works*, ii. 218.

William Cooper, who figures largely in the town's transactions at this time, was a son of the Rev. William Cooper, D.D., of the Brattle Street Church; was born Oct. 1, 1721, and died Nov. 28, 1809. He was first chosen town clerk in 1761, and held the office till his death. In 1755-56 he was a representative to the General Court. From 1759 to 1800 he was Register of Probate. He is buried in the Granary Burial-ground. He lived on Hanover Street. He married, April 26, 1745, Katharine, daughter of Jacob Wendell, and had sixteen children. See notices in *Boston Patriot*, Dec. 6, 1809, and *Evening Transcript*, July 7, 1881. — ED.]

painters' colors, upon commercial principles only, will not give satisfaction. Discontent runs through the continent upon much higher principles. Our rights are invaded by the revenue acts; therefore, until they are ALL repealed, . . . and the troops recalled, . . . the cause of our just complaints cannot be removed."

29th December 1769

Jon° Mason, Thomas Cushing
Edward Payne
Wm. Phillips
Joseph Waldo
Isaac Smith
Ebenezer Storer
Wm. Greenleaf
Committee

SIGNATURES OF THE TOWN'S COMMITTEE.[1]

Society in Boston was thoroughly moved by the prevailing sentiment.[2] Three hundred wives subscribed to a league agreeing not to drink any tea

[1] [These autographs are from a letter sent by the town to Dennis De Berdt, the colony's agent in England, in order that through him "our friends in Parliament may be acquainted with the difficulties the trade labors by means of those acts." It recapitulates how the merchants and traders of Boston had entered into an agreement, August, 1768, not to import goods from Great Britain after Jan. 1, 1770, and had made a further agreement, Oct. 17, 1769, that no goods should be sent from here till the revenue acts be repealed; and how the other colonies had not gone to the same extent; and so they informed De Berdt that they had notified their correspondents to ship goods with the express condition that the act imposing duties on tea, glass, paper, and colors be totally repealed, and had forwarded to him papers with their views on the matter. The original is in a collection of a part of the papers of Arthur Lee, who succeeded De Berdt as the agent of Massachusetts, and thus retained many of the documents emanating from the province and from Boston during the early days of the controversy. The younger Richard Henry Lee, after writing the Lives of the elder of his name and of Arthur Lee, divided the manuscripts which had come to him among three institutions, — the Libraries of Harvard College, of the University of Virginia, and of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. No recognizable principle of adaptation was followed in the division, sets being broken, — those now in Virginia containing many papers of the utmost interest for Boston history, and in some cases when others closely allied with them are in the Harvard College collection. The Editor has been kindly entrusted with these other collections by their respective guardians. Those in the College Library have been calendared in print under his direction. — ED.]

[2] [Richard Frothingham has minutely traced the progress of events and feelings of the people during this period, — from October, 1768, to the Massacre, — in his papers, "The Sam Adams

until the revenue act should be repealed. The young, unmarried women followed their example, and signed a document beginning as follows: "We, the daughters of those Patriots who have appeared . . . for the public interest, . . . do now with pleasure engage with them in denying ourselves the drinking of foreign tea."[1] . . . Even the children caught the spirit of patriotism, and imitated their elders in maintaining what they considered to be their "constitutional" rights.[2]

It was now nearly a year and a half since the troops had come to Boston, and their presence was a continual source of irritation to the inhabitants. Their services were not wanted; their parades were offensive; their bearing often insulting. Quarrels would occasionally arise between individual soldiers and citizens. "The troops greatly corrupt our morals," said Dr. Cooper, "and are in every sense an oppression. May Heaven soon deliver us from this great evil!"[3]

In this state of things, any unusual excitement might at any time occasion disastrous results. Towards the end of February an event occurred which threw the public mind into a ferment, and prepared the way for the tragic scenes of the fifth of March. A few of the merchants had rendered themselves unpopular by continuing to sell articles which had been proscribed. One of them in particular[4] had incurred such displeasure that his store was marked by the crowd with a wooden image as one to be shunned. One of his friends, a well known informer,[5] attempted to remove the image, but was driven back by the mob. Greatly exasperated, he fired a random shot among them and mortally wounded a young lad,[6] who died the following evening. The funeral was attended by five hundred children, walking in front of the bier; six of his school-mates held the pall, followed by thirteen hundred of the inhabitants. The bells of the town were tolled, and the whole community partook of the feeling of sadness and indignation that innocent blood had been shed in the streets of Boston.[7]

A few days later, a still more serious occurrence took place. On Friday, March 2, two soldiers, belonging to the Twenty-ninth Regiment, were passing Gray's rope-walk, near the present Pearl Street, and got into a quarrel with one of the workmen. Insults and threats were freely exchanged, and the soldiers then went off and found some of their comrades, who returned with them and challenged the ropemakers to a boxing-match. A fight

Regiments," in *Atlantic Monthly*, June, August, 1862, and November, 1863; matter which is only epitomized in his *Life of Warren*. John Mein, the printer, had refused to join in any non-importation agreement, and his name had been publicly proclaimed as one to be avoided in trade. He in turn printed the *State of the Importation of Great Britain with the Port of Boston from January to August*, 1768, and showed some of his detractors in the light of importers. See Henry Stevens's *Historical Collections*, i. No. 393. — Ed.]

[1] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1770, *et seq.*; Lossing, *Field-Book*, i. 488.

[2] Lossing, "1776," p. 90.

[3] Rev. S. Cooper to Governor Thomas Pownall, Jan. 1, 1770.

[4] Theophilus Lillie.

[5] Ebenezer Richardson, who lived near by.

[6] Christopher Snider.

[7] *Evening Post*, Feb. 26, 1770. [See Hutchinson; Gordon, i. 276; John Adams's *Works*, ii. 227. — Ed.]

ensued, in which sticks and cutlasses were freely used. Several were wounded on both sides, but none were killed. The proprietor and others interposed, and prevented further disturbance.[1] The next day it was reported that the fight would be resumed on Monday. Colonel Carr, commander of the Twenty-ninth, complained to the Governor of the conduct of the rope-makers. Hutchinson laid the matter before the council, some of whom freely expressed the opinion that the only way to prevent such collisions was to withdraw the troops to the Castle; but no precautionary measures were taken. At an early hour on Monday evening, March 5, numerous parties of men and boys were strolling through the streets, and whenever they met any of the soldiers a sharp altercation took place. The ground was frozen and covered with a slight fall of snow, and a young moon shed its mild light upon the scene. Small bands of soldiers were seen passing between the main guard[2] and Murray's barracks in Brattle Street, armed with clubs and cutlasses. They were met by a crowd of citizens carrying canes and sticks. Taunts and insults soon led to blows. Some of the soldiers levelled their firelocks, and threatened to "make a lane" through the crowd. Just then an officer[3] on his way to the barracks, finding the passage obstructed by the affray, ordered the men into the yard and had the gate shut. The alarm-bell, however, had called out the people from their homes, and many came down towards King Street, supposing there was a fire there. When the occasion of the disturbance was known, the well disposed among them advised the crowd to return home; but others shouted: "To the main guard! To the main guard! That's the nest!" Upon this they moved off towards King Street, some going up Cornhill, some through Wilson's Lane, and others through Royal Exchange Lane. Shortly after nine o'clock an excited party approached the Custom House, which stood on the north side of King Street, at the lower corner of Exchange Lane, where a sentinel was standing at his post. "There's the soldier who knocked me down!" said a boy whom the sentinel, a few minutes before, had hit with the but-end of his musket. "Kill him! Knock him down!" cried several voices. The sentinel retreated up the steps and loaded his gun. "The lobster is going to fire," exclaimed a boy who stood by. "If you fire you must die for it," said Henry Knox,[4] who was passing.

[1] [See Drake, *Landmarks*, 274. It was men of the Fourteenth Regiment who were engaged in this affair, and their barracks were in the modern Atkinson Street. — Ed.]

[2] The "main guard" was located at the head of King Street, directly opposite the south door of the Town House. The soldiers detailed for daily guard-duty met here for assignment to their several posts.

[3] Captain Goldfinch.

[4] Afterward general, and secretary of war. [Knox was of Scotch-Presbyterian stock from the north of Ireland, and his family belonged to the parish of Moorhead, the pastor of the Long Lane meeting-house. His father, William, a ship-master, had married Mary, a daughter of Robert Campbell; and Henry was their seventh son, and was born in 1750, in a house which Drake, *Life of Henry Knox*, p. 9, depicts, and says was standing, in 1873, on Sea Street, opposite the head of Drake's wharf. Losing his father in 1762, Henry went into the employ of Wharton & Bowes, who had succeeded the year before to the stand of Daniel Henchman, on the south corner of State and Washington streets. Knox was in this employ when the massacre occurred; but the next year (1771) he started business on his own account on the same street, about where

"I don't care," replied the sentry; "if they touch me, I 'll fire." While he was saying this, snowballs and other missiles were thrown at him, whereupon he levelled his gun, warned the crowd to keep off, and then shouted to the main guard across the street, at the top of his voice, for help. A sergeant, with a file of seven men, was sent over at once, through the crowd, to protect him. The sentinel then came down the steps and fell in with the file, when the order was given to prime and load. Captain Thomas Preston of the Twenty-ninth soon joined his men, making the whole number in arms ten.[1] About fifty or sixty people had now gathered before the Custom House. When they saw the soldiers loading, some of them stepped forward, shouting, whistling, and daring them to fire. "You are cowardly rascals," they said; "lay aside your guns and we are ready for you." "Are the soldiers loaded?" inquired a bystander. "Yes," answered the Captain, "with powder and ball." "Are they going to fire on the inhabitants?" asked another. "They cannot," said the Captain, "without my orders." "For God's sake," said Knox, seizing Preston by the coat, "take your men back again. If they fire, your life must answer for the consequences." "I know what I 'm about," said he, hastily; and then, seeing his men pressing the people with their bayonets, while clubs were being freely used, he rushed in among them. The confusion was now so great, some calling out, "Fire, fire if you dare!" and others, "Why don't you fire?" that no one could tell whether Captain Preston ordered the men to fire or not; but with or without orders, and certainly without any legal warning, seven of the soldiers, one after another, fired upon the citizens, three of whom were killed outright: Crispus Attucks,[2] Samuel Gray, and James Caldwell; and two others, Samuel Maverick[3] and Patrick Carr, died soon after from their wounds. Six others were badly wounded. It is not known that any of the eleven took part in the disturbance except Attucks, who had been a conspicuous leader of the mob.

When the firing began the people instinctively fell back, but soon after returned for the killed and wounded. Captain Preston restrained his

the *Globe* newspaper now is, calling his establishment the "London Bookstore." At least one book, *Cadogan on the Gout*, bears his imprint, 1772, and at the end of it is a list of medical and other books which he had imported. *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 1585. See H. G. Otis's letter in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876, p. 362. In November, 1774, Knox writes to Long-

man in London: "The magazines and new publications concerning the American dispute are the only things which I desire you to send at present." It will be remembered that Knox but six months before this had married a daughter of the royalist secretary of the province, Thomas Flucker, who had vainly tried to prevent the union; and a year from the day of their marriage Knox had slipped out of Boston clandestinely, to avoid interception by Gage, while his wife concealed in her quilted skirts the sword her husband was afterwards to make honorable. — ED.]

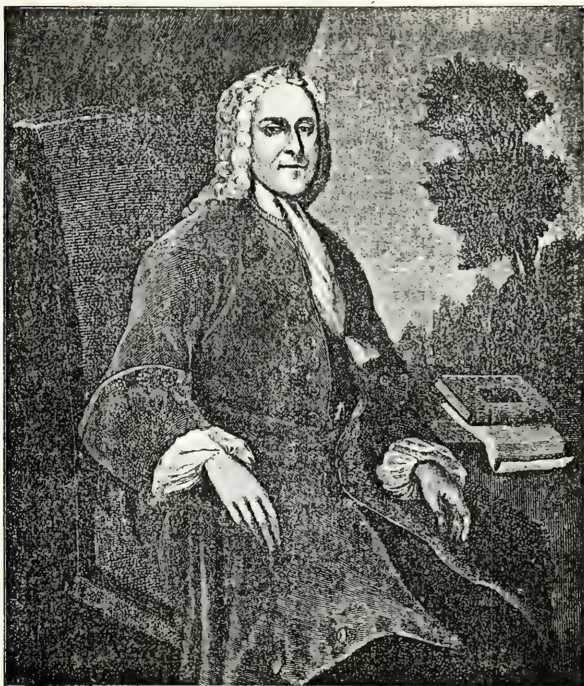
[1] Some accounts say eight.

[2] Usually called a mulatto, sometimes a slave; and in the *American Historical Record* for December, 1872, he is held to have been a half-breed Indian. [George Livermore gives us a glimpse of the past life of Crispus Attucks as a slave, in his "Historical Research on Negroes as Slaves," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 1862, Aug., p. 173. See also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1859, p. 300. — ED.]

[3] [See Sumner's *East Boston*, p. 171. — ED.]

men from a second discharge, and ordered them back to the main guard. The drums beat to arms, and several companies of the Twenty-ninth formed, under Colonel Carr, in three divisions, in the neighborhood of the Town House. And now the alarm was everywhere given. The church bells were rung, the town drums beat to arms, and King Street was soon thronged with citizens who poured in from all directions. The sight of the mangled bodies of the slain sent terror and indignation through their ranks. The excitement surpassed anything which Boston had ever known before. It was indeed a "night of consternation." No one knew what would happen next; but in that awful hour the people were guided by wise and prudent leaders, who restrained their passions and turned to the law for justice. About ten o'clock the Lieut.-Governor appeared on the scene and called for Captain Preston, to whom he put some sharp and searching questions. Forced by the crowd he then went to the Town House, and soon appeared on the balcony, where he spoke with much feeling and power concerning the unhappy event, and promised to order an inquiry in the morning, saying "the law should have its course; he would live and die by the law." On being informed that the people would not disperse until Captain Preston was arrested, he at once ordered a court of inquiry; and after consultation with the military officers, he succeeded in having the troops removed to their barracks, after which the people began to disperse. Preston's examination lasted three hours, and resulted in his being bound over for trial. The soldiers were also placed under arrest. It was three o'clock in the morning before Hutchinson retired to his house. By his judicious exertions he succeeded in calming a tumult which, had it been left to itself, might in a single night have involved the town in a conflict of much greater proportions. Early in the morning, large numbers of people from the surrounding country flocked into the town to learn the details of the tragedy, and to confer with the citizens as to what was to be done. Faneuil Hall was thrown open for an informal meeting at eleven o'clock. The town clerk, William Cooper, acted as chairman until the selectmen could be summoned from the council chamber, where they were in conference with the Lieut.-Governor. On their appearance, Thomas Cushing was chosen moderator; and Dr. Cooper, brother of the town clerk, opened the meeting with prayer. Several witnesses brought in testimony concerning the events of the previous night. A committee of fifteen, including Adams, Cushing, Hancock, and Molineux, was chosen to wait on the Lieut.-Governor and inform him that the inhabitants and soldiery could no longer live together in safety; and that nothing could restore peace and prevent further carnage but the immediate removal of the troops.[1] In the afternoon at three o'clock a regular town-meeting was convened at the same place, by legal warrant, to consider what measures could be taken to preserve the

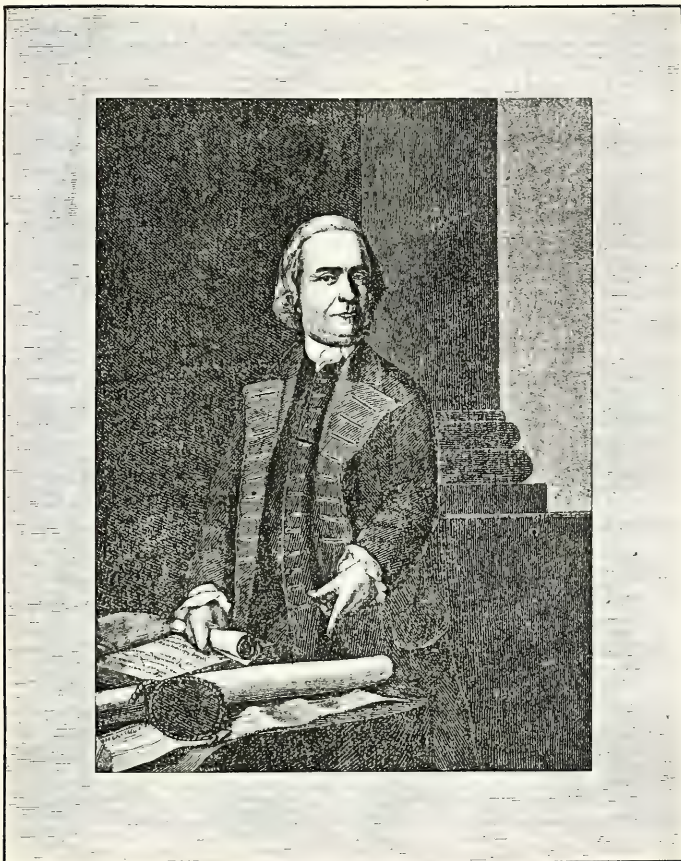
[1] [Dr. Belknap records an anecdote told by Governor Hancock, of the trepidation which seized Hutchinson when the committee went to him and demanded the removal of the troops after the massacre. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1858, p. 308. — ED.]



June 29. 1771.

In the name & by order of
the House of Representatives
I am with respect
your most humble Serv.t
Thomas Cushing Speaker

[1] [This cut follows a painting which has for many years hung in the Essex Institute, Salem, and is believed, from the costume, to represent the Patriot of this name; though the earlier



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SAMUEL ADAMS.[1]

peace of the town. The attendance was so large that the meeting was adjourned to the Old South, which was soon crowded to its utmost capacity.

Speaker of the same name, who died in 1748, may possibly have been the sitter. The painting itself has no inscription, as the courteous Librarian, Dr. Henry Wheatland, informs me. In 1876 a descendant caused a copy of it to be made for Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in the belief that it represented the later Thomas Cushing. He was born in Bromfield Street, on the spot long occupied by the public house of that name. — ED.]

[1] [This cut follows the larger of Copley's portraits of Adams, and was painted when he was forty-nine. The smaller and later one has already been given in Vol. II. p. 438. The present picture for many years hung in Faneuil Hall, and is now in the Art Museum; it has been engraved before in Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. i., in Bancroft's *United States*, vol. vii., and elsewhere. It represents the Patriot, clad in dark red, defending the rights of the people under the

Samuel Adams presented the report of the committee, which was that they could not obtain a promise of the removal of more than one of the regiments at present. "Both regiments or none!" was the cry with which the meeting received this announcement. The answer was voted to be unsatisfactory; and another committee was appointed, consisting of Samuel Adams, John Hancock, William Molineux, William Phillips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw, and Samuel Pemberton, to inform the Lieut.-Governor that nothing less than the total and immediate removal of the troops would satisfy the people. At a late hour the committee returned with a favorable report, which was received by the meeting with expressions of the greatest satisfaction. Before adjourning, a strong military watch was provided for; and the whole subject of the public defence was left in the hands of a "committee of safety," consisting of those who had just waited on the Lieut.-Governor.

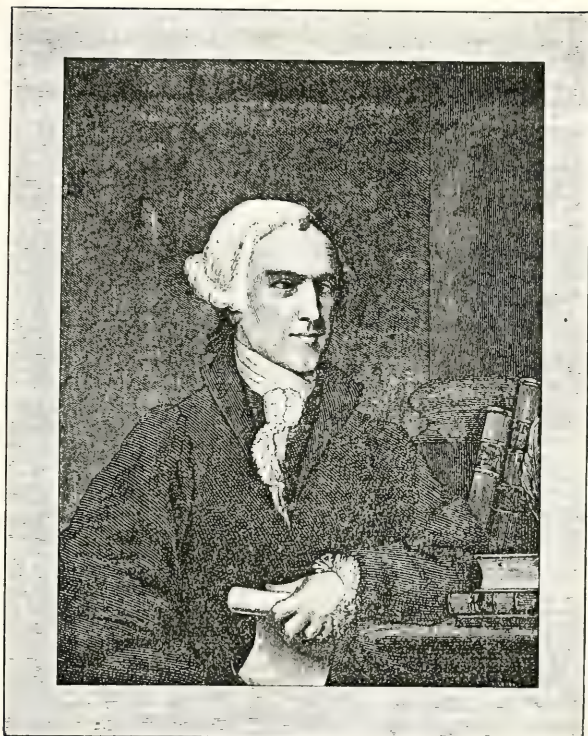
On Thursday, March 8, the funeral of the slain was an occasion of mournful interest to the whole community. The stores were generally closed. The bells of Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury were tolled. Never before, it was said, was there so large an assemblage in the streets of Boston. The procession started from the scene of the massacre in King Street, and proceeded through the main street six deep, followed by a long train of carriages, to the Middle or Granary Burying-ground, where the bodies of the victims were deposited in one grave.

After the removal of the troops to the Castle, nothing occurred to disturb the usual quiet of the town. The people waited patiently for the law to have its course. In October, Preston's case came on for trial in the Superior Court, followed in November by that of the soldiers implicated in the massacre. Through the exertions of Samuel Adams and others, the best legal talent in the province was secured on both sides. The prosecution was conducted by Robert Treat Paine, in the absence of the king's attorney.[1] Auchmuty, the prisoners' counsel, had the valuable assistance of John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the distinguished Patriots, who generously consented to take the position, — a severe ordeal at such a time, — in order that the town might be free from any charge of unfairness, and that the accused might have the advantage of every legal indulgence.[2] As a

Charter, — as he may be supposed to have appeared when he confronted Hutchinson and his council on the day after the massacre. Wells, *Life of Adams*, i. 475. The Copley head of Sam Adams was engraved by J. Norman in *An Impartial History of the War in America*, Boston, 1781. The journals of the Boston committee of correspondence, as well as the papers of Sam Adams, are in the possession of Bancroft the historian. Frothingham, *Life of Warren*, p. vii. Wells, *Life of Sam Adams*, vol. i. pp. vi. and x., gives a particular account of the Adams papers. Bancroft's *United States*, p. vi. preface. See an estimate of Adams in Mr. Goddard's ch. — ED.]

[1] [This was Jonathan Sewall, who, as John Adams says, "disappeared." It is probable that Samuel Quincy — a few months later to be made solicitor-general — assisted Paine, as stated by Ward in his edition of *Curwen's Journal*, and by Mr. Morse in Vol. IV.; though I find no contemporary authority for such statement, unless what John Adams says (*Works*, x. 201) in connection with the soldiers' trial applies as well to Preston's. Quincy is known, however, to have been on the Government side in the soldiers' trials. — ED.]

[2] [See the chapter on "The Bench and Bar," by John T. Morse, Jr., in Vol. IV. — ED.]



Josiah Quincy jun.[1]

result of the trial, Preston was acquitted; six of the soldiers were brought in "not guilty;" and two were found guilty of manslaughter, branded in the

[1] [Of this picture there is this account by Miss E. S. Quincy in Mason's *Life of Gilbert Stuart*, p. 244: "There was an engraving that his widow, Mrs. Abigail Quincy, considered an excellent likeness. This print, Stuart had declined to copy; but after reading the memoir of J. Quincy, Jr., published in 1825, he said: 'I must paint the portrait of that man;' and requested that the print, and the portrait of his brother Samuel Quincy, by Copley, should be sent to his studio." Miss Quincy says in a private letter: "The portrait was entirely satisfactory to my father and Mrs. Storer. The cast in his eye was one of his characteristics which they would not have allowed to be omitted." Jonathan Mason, who studied law in Mr. Quincy's office, Mr. Gardiner Greene, who saw him in London, Dr. Holbrook, of Milton, and many others testified to the likeness. There is an estimate of Quincy in Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume. Quincy lived on the present Washington Street, a little south of Milk Street

hand in open court, and then discharged. These trials must ever be regarded as a signal instance of that desire for impartial justice which characterized the American people throughout the stormy period which ushered in the Revolution.[1]

The manuscript of instructions to the representatives of the town, in his handwriting (1770), is noted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December, 1873, p. 216. See also Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 156. His family relations can be traced in Vol. II. p. 547, and in the accounts of the Bromfield and Phillips family in the same volume pp. 543, 548. His father-in-law was William Phillips, who was the son of the Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover, and who coming to Boston entered into business connections with Edward Bromfield, a rich merchant, whose daughter he afterward married, in 1764, and whose house on Beacon Street, figured in Vol. II., p. 521, he bought and lived in till his death in 1804. He amassed a large fortune, which has been transmitted to our day, though now mainly possessed by a collateral branch of the family. He took the Patriot side in the Revolution; and in August, 1774, Josiah Quincy, Jr., writes to Samuel Adams, then in Philadelphia: "It is very difficult to keep our poor in order. Mr. Phillips has done wonders among them. I do not know what we should do without him." After his daughter (Mrs. Quincy) lost her husband in 1775, she with her young son, the future President Quincy, lived with her father till 1786. Mr. Phillips's two younger daughters — twins, born in 1756, Sarah and Hannah — married respectively Edward Dowse and Major Samuel Shaw, who had been an aid to General Knox in the Revolution. Both were pioneers in opening trade with China after the war, and Shaw's memoir has been written by President Quincy. Shaw lived in Bulfinch Place, in a house built for him in 1793 by Charles Bulfinch; and it is to-day, shorn of its ample grounds, known as Hotel Waterston. An account of Phillips can be found in the *American Quarterly Register*, xiii., No. 1. — ED.]

[1] For details see *Lives of John Adams and Josiah Quincy*. The Brief used by the former is in the Boston Public Library. [It is a small brochure of ten leaves, six by four inches, fastened by a pin, and four of the leaves are blank. The annexed *fac-simile* is of the opening paragraph. Kidder, who formerly owned the document, has printed it in his *Boston Massacre*, p. 10

Sampson Salter Blowers, who assisted Adams and Quincy, had graduated at Harvard in 1763, and was only made a barrister in 1773; and in the next year married a daughter of Benjamin Kent, with whom he went to Nova Scotia at the time of the loyalist exodus. The presiding judge was the younger Lynde, whose portrait is given in Vol. II. p. 558. All that remains of his charge is given in the appendix of *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde, and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.* Boston, privately printed, 1880.

John Adams wrote to J. Morse in 1816 (*Works of John Adams*, x. 201) that the report of Preston's trial "was taken down, and transmitted to England, by a Scottish or English stenographer, without any known authority but his own. The British Government have never permitted it to see the light, and probably never will." When the trial of William Wemms and seven other soldiers came on, Nov. 27, 1770, the same short-hand writer, John Hodgson, was employed; and the published report, — entitled *The Trial of William Wemms, . . . for the Murder of Crispus Attucks. . . . Published by permission of the Court. . . . Boston: printed by J. Fleeming, and sold at his Printing Office, nearly opposite the White Horse Tavern in Newbury Street. M.DCC.LXX.*, — makes a duodecimo of two hundred and seventeen pages. It gives the evidence and pleas of counsel. The last seven pages are occupied with a report, "from the minutes of a gentleman who attended," of the trial, December 12, of Edward Manwaring and

Previous to 1770 the people of Boston had celebrated the Gunpowder Plot annually with public demonstrations. After the Boston massacre, the

others, who were accused by several persons of firing on the crowd during the massacre from an adjacent window in the Custom House; but they were easily acquitted. This little volume was reprinted in Boston in 1807 and 1824, and again in Kidder's monograph in 1870. The plan of King Street, used at the trials, prepared by Paul Revere, is in the collection of Judge Mellen Chamberlain, of the Boston Public Library. An examination of the reports of the trial is made in P. W. Chandler's *American Criminal Trials*, i.

Boston New England march 23: 1770

Jam.s Bowdoin

Saml. Pemberton

Jos. Warren

A minute narrative of the events was printed between black lines in the *Boston Gazette* of March 12, but the papers of the day made few references to the event till after the trial, when more or less discontent with the verdict was manifested. Such particularly marked a series of articles in the *Gazette*, signed "Vindex" (Sam Adams), which reflected upon the arguments of the counsel for defence. Buckingham, *Reminiscences*, i. 168.

Some verses inscribed upon one of the pictures of the massacre closed as follows, referring to Boston and Preston: —

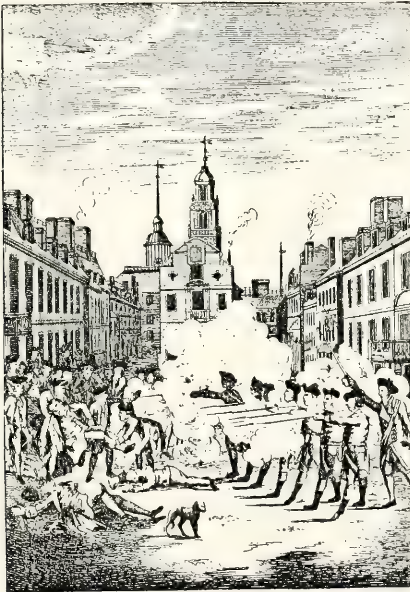
> "Should venal courts, the scandal of the land,
> Snatch the relentless villain from her hand,
> Keen execrations, on this plate inscribed,
> Shall reach a judge who never can be bribed."

A letter from William Palfrey to John Wilkes, dated Boston, March 13 (1770), is printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1863, p. 480. (See also Sparks, *American Biography*, new series, vol. viii.) And on p. 484 is printed one from Thomas Hutchinson to Lord Hillsborough on the same theme.

There are some particulars entered upon the Town Records of the statements made at the meeting at Faneuil Hall the next forenoon; but so many were ready to testify, that a committee was appointed to gather the evidence. The annexed autographs are attached to a letter addressed to the agent of Massachusetts in London, the original of which is in the Lee collection of papers in the University of Virginia Library; and with the letter was sent a copy of a *Narrative* authorized by the town. A similar letter, and other copies, were sent to various important people in England, — a list of whom, together with the letter, is printed at the end of some copies of the *Narrative*, which was also probably drawn up by the same gentlemen, and, as printed, is called *A short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston perpetrated in the evening of the Fifth Day of March*, 1770, *by Soldiers of the XXIXth Regiment, with some Observations on the State of Things prior to that Catastrophe. Boston. printed by order of the Town, by Messrs. Edes & Gill.* MDCCLXX. It had an appendix of depositions, including one of Jeremiah Belknap; but another, of Joseph Belknap, is contained in the *Belknap Papers*, i. 69, in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A large folding plate showed the scene in State Street. It was immediately reprinted in London, in at least three editions, — two by W. Bingley, in Newgate Street, with the large folding plate re-engraved; and the third by E. and C. Dilby, with a smaller plate, a *fac-simile* of which, somewhat reduced, is given on the next page. The supplement of the *Boston Evening Post*, June 18, 1770, has news from London, May 5, announcing the republication of it, and stating that the frontispiece was engraved from a copper-plate print sent over with the "authenticated narrative."

Copies of this *Short Narrative* were sent at once to England, but the remainder of the edition was not published, for fear of giving "an undue bias to the minds of the jury," till after the trial, when *Additional Observations*, of twelve pages, were added to it. These were likewise published separately. Both of these documents were reprinted in New York in 1849, and again at Albany in 1870, in Mr. Kidder's *History of the Boston Massacre*. In this supplemental publication it was intimated that the friends of Government had sent despatches "home" "to represent the town in a disadvantageous light." It is certain that a tract did appear shortly in London, called: *A fair Account of the late*

fifth of March was observed until the peace of 1783,[1] when the Fourth of July celebration was substituted by the town authorities. Unquestionably the influence of the Boston massacre upon the growing sentiment of independence throughout the colonies was very great.[2] Public opinion was immediately shaped by it, and the remaining ties binding America to Britain were everywhere visibly relaxed. "On that night," wrote John



The Massacre perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th 1770, in which Messrs Saml Gray, Saml Maverick, James Caldwell, Crispus Attucks Patrick Carr were Killed, six others Wounded two of them Mortally

unhappy Disturbance at Boston in New England; extracted from the Depositions that have been made concerning it by persons of all parties; with an Appendix containing some affidavits and other evidences relating to this affair, not mentioned in the Narrative of it that has been published at Boston. London: printed for B. White, in Fleet Lane; MDCCLXX. There is a copy in Harvard College Library. It is the Government view of the massacre, and is duly fortified by counter depositions, chiefly by officers and men of the garrison. Hutchinson has given his account of it in his posthumous third volume, and Gordon in his first volume. Stedman's account in his *American War* is also at variance with the town's narrative.

Of the later historians Mr. Frothingham in the last of his papers on "The Sam Adams Regiments" (*Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1863), and in his *Life of Warren*, ch. vi., has given a very excellent account, "carefully collating the evidence that appears to be authentic;" but he confesses it is vain to reconcile all statements. The events are also minutely described in Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, i. 308. Bancroft, *United States*, vol. vi. ch. xliii., examines the evidence for provocation, and concludes Preston ordered the firing. He cites, through the chapter, his authorities. — ED.]

[1] Orations were delivered on the successive anniversaries by Thomas Young, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Peter Thacher, Benjamin Hichborn, Jonathan W. Austin, William Tudor, Jonathan Mason, Thomas Dawes, George R. Minot, and Thomas Welsh. [These, having been printed separately, were collected and issued by Peter Edes in 1785, and reissued in 1807. There are accounts of them and their authors in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*. Paul Revere took the occasion of the first anniversary of the massacre, in 1771, to rouse the sensibilities of the crowd by giving illuminated pictures of the event, with allegorical accompaniments, at the windows of his house in North Square. "The spectators," says the account in the *Gazette*, "were struck with solemn silence, and their countenances covered with a melancholy gloom." — ED.]

[2] [See the letter to Franklin in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, November, 1865. Also Sparks's *Franklin*, vii. 499. — ED.]

Adams long afterward, "the formation of American Independence was laid." "From that moment," said Mr. Webster on one occasion, "we may date the severance of the British empire."

On the very day of the Boston massacre Lord North brought in a bill to repeal the Townshend revenue act, with the exception of the preamble and the duty on tea, which were retained to signify the continued supremacy of Parliament. This proposal met with much opposition, but was finally carried, and approved by the king on April 12.

As the great principle at issue was not relinquished, this new measure of the Government gave but little satisfaction to the colonists. Trade, however, revived, and before the end of 1770 it was open in everything but tea.[1]

In the month of September Hutchinson received a royal order in effect introducing martial law into Massachusetts, in so far as to compel him to give up the fortress to General Gage, or such officer as he might appoint. This order was in direct contravention of the charter of the province, which gave the command of the militia and the forts to the civil Governor. After a little hesitation Hutchinson decided to obey the order, and, without consulting the council, he at once handed over the Castle to Colonel Dalrymple; and from that hour it remained in the possession of England until the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776. The Provincial Assembly, meeting at Cambridge for the third time, and keeping a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, entered a solemn protest against the new and insupportable grievances under which they labored.[2] At this time Franklin, Boston's honored son, was elected as the agent of Massachusetts to represent her cause before the king.[3] Certainly no better choice could have been made. In the fulness of his ripened powers, possessed of rare wisdom and integrity, and animated by a spirit of fervent patriotism, he discharged the grave duties of his position with conspicuous fidelity and zeal.

The next year was not marked by any very notable event. Hutchinson, who had now received his coveted commission as Governor, maintained a controversy with the Assembly upon several matters of legislation, and

[1] The self-imposed restrictions adopted by the colonists in reference to foreign articles had produced a great effect in checking extravagance, promoting domestic industry and economy, and opening to the people new sources of wealth. Home-made articles, which at first came into use from necessity, soon became fashionable. At Harvard College the graduating class of 1770 took their degrees in homespun.

[2] [John Adams was now a representative from Boston, succeeding Bowdoin, who had gone into the Council. See *John Adams's Works*, ii. 233. "Although Sam Adams was now the master-mover, John Adams seems to have succeeded to the post of legal adviser, which had been filled by Oxenbridge Thacher and James Otis." The four "Boston seats" were thus filled by Cushing (the Speaker), Hancock, Sam Adams, and John Adams; and to show their influence the journals indicate that three, and sometimes all of them, were on every important committee for a session which was much concerned with political movements. John Adams was at this period a resident of Boston from April, 1768, to April, 1771; but he still retained his office in Boston after removing his family to Braintree; and again he established a home in Queen Street, opposite the Court House, in 1772. — ED.]

[3] [The choice of Franklin was made Oct. 24, 1770; his appointment, signed by Thomas Cushing, speaker, is among the Lee Papers, University of Virginia. See Mr. Towle's chapter in Vol. II. — ED.]

arbitrarily insisted upon their meeting in Cambridge, until the opposition to it became so strong that he was obliged to consent to a removal to Boston.[1] The House soon after censured the Governor for accepting a salary from the king in violation of the charter; and the popular indignation was still further aroused when it became known that royal stipends were provided for the judges in the province. This led to a town-meeting (Oct. 28, 1772), at which an address to his Excellency was prepared, requesting information of the truth of the report. The Governor declined to make public any of his official advices. Another petition was drafted at an adjourned meeting, requesting the Governor to convene the Assembly on the day to which it stood prorogued (December 2); and at the same time the meeting expressed its horror of the reported judicial establishment, as contrary not only to the charter but to the fundamental principles of common law. This petition also was rejected in a reply which was read several times at an adjourned meeting and voted "not satisfactory." It was then resolved that the inhabitants of Boston "have ever had and ought to have a right to petition the king, or his representative, for a redress of such grievances as they feel, or for preventing of such as they have reason to apprehend; and to communicate their sentiments to other towns." Adams now stood up and made that celebrated motion, which gave visible shape to the American Revolution, and endowed it with life and strength. The record[2] says: —

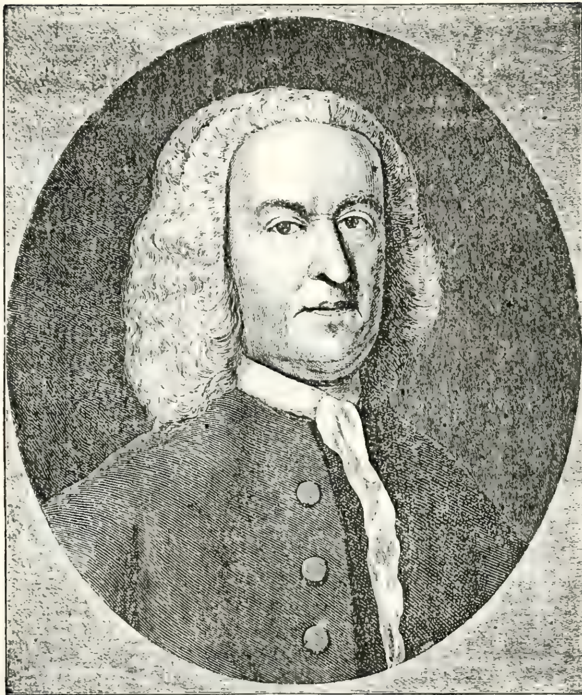
"It was then moved by Mr. Samuel Adams that a committee of correspondence[3] be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men and Christians, and as subjects; and to communicate and publish the same to the several towns, and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made."

The motion was carried by a nearly unanimous vote; but some of the leading men were not prepared to serve on the committee. It was seen that the labors would be arduous, prolonged, and gratuitous; and although they did not oppose, neither did they cordially support a measure which was really greater than they imagined. The committee, however, was well

[1] [The instructions of the town, May 25, 1772, to Cushing and the other representatives, are given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, January, 1871, p. 9. The House later prepared an address of remonstrance to the king against taxation without representation, and, July 14, 1772, it was despatched, signed by Cushing. An original is among the Lee Papers, in the University of Virginia. — Ed.]

[2] *Boston Town Records*, November, 1772.

[3] [John Adams said that Sam Adams "invented" the committee of correspondence. Frothingham, *Life of Warren*, p. 200. There has been some controversy about the origin of these committees; but Bancroft, who has their papers, avers positively that Gordon's opinion (i. 312) of the idea originating with James Warren of Plymouth is erroneous. Bancroft's *United States*, vi. 428. See further, Wells's *Samuel Adams*, i. 509, ii. 62; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, pp. 284, 312, 327; Barry's *Massachusetts*, ii. 448, and other references in Winsor's *Handbook*, p. 20. The town's committee of correspondence must not be confounded with the Assembly's committee. See R. Frothingham in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873. See earlier in this chapter for Mayhew's suggestion. See also Hutchinson, iii. 361; and Gordon, i. 314. — Ed.]



LIEUT.-GOVERNOR ANDREW OLIVER.[1]

constructed, with Adams and Warren and other citizens of well known character and the highest patriotism. Otis, though broken in health, was named chairman, as a compliment for his former services.

[1] [This cut follows Copley's portrait of Andrew Oliver, owned by Dr. F. E. Oliver, by whose kind permission it is copied. Perkins's *Copley*, p. 90. For his family connections see Mr. Whitmore's chapter in Vol. II. p. 539, and his more extended genealogy of the Olivers in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1865, p. 101. The two sons of Daniel Oliver (who died 1732, leaving a bequest to the town; see Vol.

And Oliver

II. p. 539) were Andrew Oliver, the Lieut.-Governor (who died 1774, and was father of Andrew, judge and mandamus councillor), and Chief-Justice Peter Oliver. They had close family rela-

Peter Oliver

tions with Governor Hutchinson, for Andrew's second wife, Mary, was sister of Hutchinson's wife, the two being daughters of William Sanford; and Dr. Peter Oliver, son of the chief-justice, married Sarah, daughter of Governor Hutchinson. Andrew, the mandamus councillor, married a sister of the second Judge Lynde, who presided at the massacre trials. The family of the Lieut.-Governor, by his second wife, were refugees with their uncle, the chief-justice. — Ed.]

This committee of correspondence met the next day and chose William Cooper as clerk. By a unanimous vote they gave to each other the pledge of honor "not to divulge any part of the conversation at their meetings to any person whatsoever, excepting what the committee itself should make known."

June 8. 1774
By Order of the Committee
of Correspondence for Boston
William Cooper Clerk.

The work to be done was divided between them. Adams was appointed to prepare a statement of the rights of the colonists; Warren of the several violations of those rights; and Church was to draft a letter to the other towns.

On November 20 the report was presented at a legal meeting in Faneuil Hall. The statement of rights and of grievances, and the letter to the towns, were masterly presentations of the cause, and carried conviction throughout the province. Plymouth, Marblehead, Roxbury, and Cambridge responded at once to the call; and it was not long before committees of correspondence were everywhere established. The other Colonies accepted the plan.[1] Virginia saw in it the prospect of union throughout the continent. So did South Carolina. "An American Congress," wrote Samuel Adams to Arthur Lee (April 9, 1773), "is no longer the fiction of a political enthusiast."[2]

In the spring of 1773 the East India Company, finding itself embarrassed from the excessive accumulation of teas in England, owing to the persistent refusal of American merchants to import them, applied to Parliament for assistance, and obtained an act empowering the Company to export teas to America without paying the ordinary duty in England. This would enable the Company to sell at such low rates that it was thought the colonists would purchase, even with the tax of threepence on the pound. Accordingly ships were laden with the article and despatched to Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and persons were selected in each of these ports to act as consignees, or "tea commissioners" as they were called.

[1] [The report of the committee of correspondence, made Nov. 20, 1772, was, by order of the town, printed by Edes & Gill, as *The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants*. Frothingham, *Warren*, p. 211, etc., has much to show the effect this meeting was having throughout the colonies. — ED.]

[2] Secret letters, written by Governor Hutchinson and Lieut.-Governor Oliver to friends in England, favoring military intervention and otherwise injuring the cause of the colonists, were discovered about this time through the agency of Franklin, and forwarded to the Patriots in Boston. The result was a formal petition to the king for the removal of the odious functionaries. These letters were printed in Boston in 1773, and in London in 1774. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878. [See further on this matter, with a note on the authorities, Vol. II. p. 86. John Adams saw them as early as March 22, 1773. (*Works*, ii. 318.) The letters were first published in Boston, June 16, 1773. Thomas Newell's "diary" in *Proc.*, October, 1877, p 339. — ED.]

When this news became known, all America was in a flame. The people were not to be duped by any such appeal to their cupidity. They had taken their stand upon a principle, and not until that was recognized would they withdraw their opposition. It seemed strange that England had not discerned that fact long before.

Nowhere was the feeling more intense on the subject than in Boston. The consignees were prominent men and friends of the Governor.[1] On the night of November 1 they were each one summoned to appear on the following Wednesday noon, at Liberty Tree, to resign their commissions. Handbills were also posted over the town, inviting citizens to meet at the same place.[2] On the day appointed, the bells rang from eleven to twelve o'clock, and the town-crier summoned the people to meet at Liberty Tree, which was decorated with a large flag. About five hundred assembled, including many of the leading Patriots. As the consignees failed to appear, a committee was appointed to wait upon them and request their resignation; and, in case they refused, to present a resolve to them declaring them to be enemies of their country. The committee, accompanied by many of the people, repaired to Clarke's warehouse and had a brief parley with the consignees, who refused to resign their trust.

A legal town-meeting was now called for, and the selectmen issued a warrant for one to be held on the fifth.[3] It was largely attended, and Hancock[4] was chosen moderator. A series of eight resolves was adopted, similar to those which had been recently passed in Philadelphia, and extensively circulated through the press. The consignees were again, through a committee, asked to resign; and again they refused, and the meeting adjourned.

On the seventeenth a vessel arrived, announcing that the tea-ships were on the way to Boston and might be hourly expected. Another legal meeting was immediately notified for the next day, at which Hancock was again the moderator. Word was sent to the consignees that it was the desire of the town that they would give a final answer whether they would resign their appointment. The answer came that they could not comply with the re-

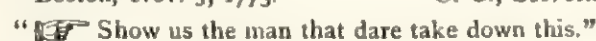
[1] Two of them were his sons, Elisha and Thomas; the others were Richard Clarke and sons, Benj. Faneuil, Jr., and Joshua Winslow.

[2] Draper's *Gazette* of November 3 contained the following: —

"*To the Freemen of this and the neighboring towns:*

"GENTLEMEN, — You are desired to meet at Liberty Tree this day at twelve o'clock at noon; then and there to hear the persons, to whom the tea shipped by the East India Company is consigned, make a public resignation of their office as consignees, upon oath; and also swear that they will reship any teas that may be consigned to them by said Company, by the first vessel sailing for London.

"Boston, Nov. 3, 1773. O. C., *Secretary*.


"☞ Show us the man that dare take down this."

Several of these handbills are in possession of the Mass. Hist. Society.

[3] This warrant is now in the possession of Judge Mellen Chamberlain.

[4] [Revere's portrait of Hancock is given in the text. It appeared in the *Royal Amer. Mag.*, March, 1774, which contains also Hancock's massacre oration of that year. On Nov. 11, 1773, Hutchinson had directed Hancock, as colonel of the cadets, to hold them in readiness for service. Frothingham, *Life of Warren*, p. 249, mentions the original of this order as being in the hands of the late Col. J. W. Sever. A curious engraving of "His Ex'y John Hancock, late President of the American Congress, J. Norman, sc.," appeared in *An Impartial History of the War in America*, Boston, 1781, vol. i. On the Hancock papers (most of which are printed in the *American Archives*) see *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, January, 1818, p. 271 and December, 1857; and Vol. IV. of this History, p. 5, *note*. — ED.]

quest.[1] Upon this the meeting dissolved, without passing any vote or expressing any opinion. "This sudden dissolution," says Hutchinson,[2] "struck more terror into the consignees than the most minatory resolves."

The whole matter was now understood to be in the hands of the committee of correspondence, who constituted the virtual government of the province.

On Sunday, November 28, the ship "Dartmouth," Captain Hall, after a sixty days' passage, appeared in the harbor, with one hundred and four-

The Hon.ble JOHN HANCOCK. Esqr

teen chests of tea.[3] There was no time to be lost. Sunday though it was, the selectmen and the committee of correspondence held meetings to take immediate action against the entry of the tea. The consignees had gone to the Castle; but a promise was obtained from Francis Rotch, the owner of the vessel, that it should not be entered until Tuesday. The towns around Boston[4] were then invited to attend a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall the next morning.[5] Thousands were ready to respond to

[1] The answer is given in Frothingham's *Life of Warren*, p. 251.

[2] *History*, iii. 426.

[3] [The next morning, twenty-ninth, the vessel came up and anchored off Long Wharf (*Massachusetts Gazette*, November 29). The journal of the "Dartmouth" is in *Traits of the Tea-Party*, p. 259. — Ed.

[4] Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, and Charlestown.

[5] The following placard appeared on Monday morning: —

"Friends! Brethren! Countrymen!

"That worst of plagues, the detested Tea, shipped for this port by the East India Company, is now arrived in this harbor. The hour of destruction, or manly opposition to

this summons, and the meeting was obliged to adjourn to the Old South. Boston, it was said, had never seen so large a gathering.[1] It was unanimously resolved, upon the motion of Samuel Adams, that the tea should be sent back, and that no duty should be paid on it. "The only way to get rid of it," said Young, "is to throw it overboard." At an adjourned meeting in the afternoon, Mr. Rotch entered his protest against the proceedings; but the meeting, without a dissenting voice, passed the significant vote that if Mr. Rotch entered the tea he would do so at his peril. Captain Hall was also cautioned not to allow any of the tea to be landed. To guard the ship during the night, a volunteer watch of twenty-five persons was appointed, under Captain Edward Proctor. "Out of great tenderness" to the consignees, the meeting adjourned to Tuesday morning, to allow further time for consultation. The answer, which was given jointly, then was that it was not in the power of the consignees to send the tea back; but they were ready to store it till they could hear from their constituents. Before action could be taken on this reply, Greenleaf, the Sheriff of Suffolk, entered with a proclamation from the Governor, charging the inhabitants with violating the good and wholesome laws of the province, and "warning, exhorting, and requiring them, and each of them there unlawfully assembled, forthwith to disperse."[2] This communication was received with hisses and a unanimous vote not to disperse. At this juncture, Copley the artist, son-in-law of Clarke, tendered his services as mediator between the people and the consignees, and was allowed two hours for the purpose; but after going to the Castle he returned with a report which was voted to be "not in the least degree satisfactory." In the afternoon, Rotch and Hall, yielding to the demands of the hour, agreed that the tea should return, without touching land or paying duty. A similar promise was obtained from the owners of two other tea-ships, which were daily expected; and resolutions were passed against such merchants as had even "inadvertently" imported tea while subject to duty. Armed patrols were appointed for the night; and six post-riders were selected to alarm the neighboring towns, if necessary. A report of the proceedings of the meeting was officially transmitted to every seaport in Massachusetts; also to New York and Philadelphia, and to England.[3]

In a short time the other tea-ships, the "Eleanor" and the "Beaver," arrived and, by order of the committee, were moored near the "Dartmouth" at Griffin's Wharf,[4] that one guard might answer for all. Under the revenue laws the ships could not be cleared in Boston with the tea on board, nor

the machinations of tyranny, stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself and posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall at nine o'clock THIS DAY (at which time the bells will ring), to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and most destructive measure of Administration."

Boston Gazette, Nov. 29, 1773; Wells's *Life of S. Adams*, ii. 110. [The original draft of the call to the committees of the neighboring towns, in Warren's hand, is owned by Mr. Bancroft. Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 255. — ED.]

[1] Jonathan Williams was chosen moderator; and the business of the meeting was conducted by Adams, Hancock, Young, Molineux, and Warren.

[2] Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, iii. 432.

[3] For accounts of this meeting see *Boston Post-Boy*, *News-Letter*, and especially the *Gazette* for Dec. 6, 1773.

[4] Now Liverpool Wharf, near the foot of Pearl Street.

could they be entered in England; and, moreover, on the twentieth day from their arrival they would be liable to seizure. Whatever was done, therefore, must be done soon. The Patriot leaders were all sincerely anxious to have the tea returned to London peaceably, and they left nothing undone to accomplish this object. On the eleventh of December the owner of the "Dartmouth" was summoned before the committee, and asked why he had not kept his agreement to send his ship back with the tea. He replied that it was out of his power to do so. "The ship must go," was the answer. "The people of Boston and the neighboring towns absolutely require and expect it."[1] Hutchinson, in the meantime, had taken measures to prevent her sailing. No vessel was allowed to put to sea without his permit; the guns at the Castle were loaded, and Admiral Montagu had sent two war-ships to guard the passages out of the harbor.

The committees of the towns were in session on the thirteenth. On the fourteenth, two days before the time would expire, a meeting at the Old South again summoned Rotch and enjoined upon him, at his peril, to apply for a clearance. He did so, accompanied by several witnesses. The collector refused to give his answer until the next day, and the meeting adjourned to Thursday, the sixteenth, the last day of the twenty before confiscation would be legal. For two days the Boston committee of correspondence had been holding consultations of the greatest importance.

> "That little body of stout-hearted men were making history that should endure for ages. Their secret deliberations, could they be exhumed from the dust of time, would present a curious page in the annals of Boston; but the seal of silence was upon the pen of the secretary, as well as upon the lips of the members."[2]

On Wednesday Rotch was again escorted to the Custom House, where both the collector and the comptroller "unequivocally and finally" refused to grant the "Dartmouth" a clearance unless her teas were discharged.

Thursday, December 16, came at last, — *dies irae, dies illa!* — and Boston calmly prepared to meet the issue. At ten o'clock the Old South was filled from an outside assemblage that included two thousand people from the surrounding country. Rotch appeared and reported that a clearance had been denied him. He was then directed as a last resort to protest at once against the decision of the Custom House, and apply to the Governor for a passport to go by the Castle. Hutchinson, evidently anticipating such an emergency, had found it convenient to be at his country-seat on Milton Hill,[3] where it would require considerable time to reach him. Rotch was instructed to make all haste, and report to the meeting in the afternoon. At three o'clock the number of people in and around the Old South was estimated at seven thousand, — by far the largest gathering ever seen in Boston. Addresses

[1] Bancroft, vi. 482.

[2] Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, ii. 119.

[3] [The mansion which is delineated in Bryant and Gay's *History of the United States*, iii. 372, as Hutchinson's country-seat, is not Hutchinson's house but another on Milton Hill. The true house was taken down not long since. — ED.]

were made by Samuel Adams, Young, Rowe, Quincy,[1] and others. "Who knows," said Rowe, "how tea will mingle with salt water?" a suggestion which was received with loud applause.[2] When the question was finally put to the vast assembly it was unanimously resolved that the tea should not be landed. It was now getting darker and darker, and the meeting-house could only be dimly lighted with a few candles; yet the people all remained, knowing that the great question must soon be decided. About six o'clock Rotch appeared and reported that he had waited on the Governor, but could not obtain a pass, as his vessel was not duly qualified. No sooner had he concluded than Samuel Adams arose and said: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."[3] Instantly a shout was heard at the porch; the war-whoop resounded, and a band of forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, rushed by the door and hurried down toward the harbor,[4] followed by a throng of people; guards were carefully posted, according to previous arrangements, around Griffin's wharf to prevent the intrusion of spies. The "Mohawks," and some others accompanying them, sprang aboard the three tea-ships and emptied the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the bay, "without the least injury to the vessels or any other property." No one interfered with them; no person was harmed; no tea was allowed to be carried away. There was no confusion, no noisy riot, no

[1] [The speech which Josiah Quincy, Jr. delivered at this meeting, Dec. 16, 1773, together with one of Otis in 1767, are the only reports at any length of all the speeches made in Boston public meetings from 1768 to 1775. Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 39. Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 2d ed. p. 124. Mr. Quincy's speech is preserved only in a letter which, after he had gone to England, he wrote to his wife from London, Dec. 14, 1774, and the words given by Gordon were copied from the manuscript still existing. It counselled moderation. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873, Mr. Waterston's address. — ED.]

[2] Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, pp. 485, 486.

[3] Francis Rotch's information before the privy council. [The moderator of this meeting was William Phillips Savage. His portrait is owned by Mr. G. H. Emery. The original minutes, in the hand of William Cooper, of the meetings from Nov. 29, 1773, are preserved among the papers in the Charity Building. They show the names of the watch of twenty-five men, under Captain Proctor, who were to guard the ships that night; and later each successive watch was empowered to appoint its successors for the following night. The final report of Mr. Rotch is entered in the minutes for December 16, as follows:—

"Mr. Rotch attended and informed that he had demanded a pass for his vessel of the Governor, who answered that he was willing to grant anything consistent with the laws and his duty to the King, but that he could not give a pass unless the vessel was properly qualified from the Custom House; that he should make no distinction between this and any other vessel, provided she was properly cleared.

"Mr. Rotch was then asked whether he would send his vessel back with the tea under her present circumstances; he answered that he could not possibly comply, as he apprehended it would be to his risk. He was further asked whether he would land the tea; he answered he had no business with it unless he was properly called upon to do it, when he should attempt a compliance for his own security.

"*Voted*, that this meeting be dissolved; and it was accordingly dissolved."

Here the minutes end, the remaining leaves of the book being blank. — ED.]

[4] [The conclave which had decided upon this movement had been held in the back office of Edes & Gill's printing house, on the site of the present *Daily Advertiser* building. A room over the office was often the meeting place of the Patriots, and the frequenters got to be known as the Long-Room Club. Drake, *Landmarks*, p. 81. There is some reason to believe that this was the office of Josiah Quincy, Jr. A letter about the punch-bowl used by the Patriots before going to the wharf is given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December, 1871. Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 499, gives the portrait of David Kinnison, the last survivor of the "Mohawks." — ED.]

infuriated mob. The multitude stood by and looked on in solemn silence while the weird-looking figures,[1] made distinctly visible in the moonlight, removed the hatches, tore open the chests, and threw the entire cargo overboard. This strange spectacle lasted about three hours, and then the people all went home and the town was as quiet as if nothing had happened. The next day fragments of the tea were seen strewn along the Dorchester shore, carried thither by the wind and tide.[2] A formal declaration of the transaction was drawn up by the Boston committee; and Paul Revere was sent with despatches to New York and Philadelphia, where the news was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.[3] In Boston the feeling was that of intense satisfaction proceeding from the consciousness of having exhausted every possible measure of legal redress before undertaking this bold and novel mode of asserting the rights of the people.[4] "We do console ourselves," said John Scollay, one of the selectmen, and an actor in the scene, "that we have acted constitutionally."[5] "This is the most magnificent movement of all," said John Adams.[6] "There

[1] The names of the actors in this scene, as well as of those who planned it, were not divulged till after the Revolutionary War. It is supposed that about one hundred and forty persons were engaged in it. [The "Dartmouth's" journal says one thousand people came on the wharf. The party actually boarding the ships has been estimated from seventeen to thirty, the former number being all that have been identified. See Frothingham in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873, who thinks that the list given in Hewes's book is not accurate as respects those who boarded the ships. "Several of the party have been identified, but the claims presented for others are doubtful." John Adams refused to have the names given him. (*Works*, ii. 334.) Captain Henry Purkitt, who is called the last survivor of the party, died March 3, 1846, aged ninety-one. As to Hewes, see also Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 554. — ED.]

[2] Barry, ii. 473. [A small quantity of it is preserved in a phial in the Mass. Hist. Society's cabinet. Thomas Newell records in his diary, Jan. 1, 1774: "Last evening a number of persons went over to Dorchester and brought from thence part of a chest of tea, and burnt it in our Common the same evening." A fourth vessel of the tea-fleet was wrecked on the back side of Cape Cod. The Boston committee immediately sent a message in that direction. "The people of the Cape will we hope behave with propriety, and as becomes men resolved to serve their country." We next hear of this tea in a letter from Samuel Adams to James Warren, Jan. 10, 1774. "The tea which was cast on shore at the Cape has been brought up, and after much consultation landed at Castle William, the safe asylum for our inveterate enemies. . . . It is said that the Indians this way, if they had suspected the Marshpee tribe would have been so sick at the knee, would have marched on snow-shoes to have done the business for them." It seems that Clarke, one of the consignees, had despatched a lighter and brought the chests off. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873. Vessels subsequently arriving were examined; and in March, 1774, twenty-eight and a half chests were similarly disposed of by similar "Indians." — ED.]

[3] [Revere returned from this mission December 27; and bringing word that Governor Tryon had engaged to send the New York tea-ships back, all the Boston bells were rung the next morning. *Thomas Newell's Diary.* — ED.]

[4] "Fast spread the tempest's darkening pall;
The mighty realms were troubled;
The storm broke loose, but first of all
The Boston teapot bubbled.

"The lurid morning shall reveal
A fire no king can smother,
When British flint and Boston steel,
Have clashed against each other!"

O. W. HOLMES.

[5] Letter to Arthur Lee, Dec. 23, 1773.

[6] Diary, Dec. 17, 1773. [Two pages of this diary, of which the accompanying *fac-simile* is a

1773 Decr 17th Last Night 3 Cargoes of Bohea Tea were emptied into the Sea. This Morning a Man of War Sails. —
This is the most magnificent Movement of all. —

is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity, in this last effort of the Patriots that I greatly admire."[1]

The blow was now struck; the deed was done; and there was no retreat. The enemies of liberty talked of treason, arrests, and executions; but the Patriots almost everywhere rejoiced, and pledged themselves to support the common cause. Independence was now openly advocated; a congress was called for; and "Union" was the cry from New England to Carolina.[2]

When the news of the destruction of the tea reached England it produced a profound sensation, both in Government circles and among the people. Coercion was at once resolved upon as the only means of check-

fragment, are given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873. — Ed.]

[1] Charles Waterton, the enterprising traveller and naturalist, of Walton Hall, Wakefield, Yorkshire, makes a humorous reference to the Tea-Party, in his autobiography, written between 1812 and 1824: "It is but some forty years ago our western brother had a dispute with his nurse about a cup of tea. She wanted to force the boy to drink it according to her own receipt. He said he did not like it, and that it absolutely made him ill. After a good deal of sparring, she took up the birch rod and began to whip him with uncommon severity. He turned upon her in self-defence, showed her to the outside of the nursery door, and never more allowed her to meddle with his affairs."

[2] [Among the contemporary sources for the understanding of these transactions may be named the following: G. R. T. Hewes, who was one of the participants, with the aid of B. B. Thacher, prepared *Traits of the Tea-Party*, N. Y. 1835 (see also *Retrospect of the Boston Tea-Party with a Memoir of Hewes*, by a citizen of New York, N. Y. 1834. *Brinley Catalogue*, Nos. 1681 and 1682); and in this book the names of fifty-eight actors in the scene are given. The names inscribed on the monument of Captain Peter Slater (who was one of the party) in Hope Cemetery, New Worcester, are sixty-three in number. Both lists include Moses Grant, William Molineaux, Paul Revere, G. T. R. Hewes, Thomas Melville, Samuel Sprague, Jonathan Hunnewell, John Prince, John Russell. (*Massachusetts Spy*, Dec. 16, 1873.) Sprague was the father of Charles Sprague; Russell was the father of Benjamin Russell. Hewes lived at the Bull's Head, an old house on the northeast corner of Water and Congress streets. He died Nov. 5, 1840, at ninety-eight. There are letters from Boston in 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iv. 373; as also the examination of Dr. Williamson before the King's council, Feb. 19, 1774. A paper, "Information of Hugh Williamson" is in the Sparks MSS. Admiral Montagu, writing Dec. 17, 1773, to the Lords of the Admiralty, says he was never called upon for assistance, and he could easily have prevented the execution of the plan; and the *Evening Post*, May 16, 1774, ventured from the admiral's admission to draw the conclusion that Hutchinson and his party connived at the business. The first accounts received in England are given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1774, p. 26. An account is in the *Boston Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1773, or Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, i. 169; a contemporary record in Andrews's letters in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1865, p. 325; Thomas Newell's Diary in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1877; contemporary verses in *Mag. of Amer. History*, March, 1880; Hutchinson's narrative is in his *Massachusetts Bay*, iii. 430. Hutchinson's papers in the State House throw much light on these disturbed times, and some of his letters are copied by Frothingham in his paper in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December, 1873. His interview with the king, July 1, 1774, after his return to England, as reported in his journal, and covering these transactions, has only of late years been made public. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1877, p. 326. Other contemporary documents will be found in Force's *American Archives*, i.; Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*; Franklin's *Works*, viii.; John Adams's *Works*, ii. 323, 334, and ix. 333. An appeal of "Scævola" to the commissioners appointed for the sale of tea in America was printed as a broadside, and a copy is in the Sparks MSS. xlix. vol. ii. p. 115. Of the eclectic later accounts the fullest is in Frothingham's *Life of Warren*, ch. ix.; and in his paper in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873, where will be found the contributions of others to that commemorative occasion. See also Bancroft, vi. ch. l.; Barry, *Massachusetts*, ii. ch. xiv. and xv.; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii.; Tudor's *Otis*, ch. xxi.; Snow's *Boston*; Niles's *Register*, 1827, p. 75; Lossing's *Field-Book*; and *Harper's Monthly*, iv. Also James Kimball in *Essex Institute Proceedings*. The English writers are May's *Constitutional History of England*, ii. 521; Massey's *England*, ii. ch. xviii.; Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*, ii.; Macknight's *Burke*, ii ch. xx.; and the usual general historians. — Ed.]

ing the unruly and defiant spirit which had become dominant in Boston. On March 7 the King, in addressing Parliament, accused the Americans of attempting to injure British commerce and to subvert its constitution. The message was accompanied with a mass of papers and letters.[1] Lord North demanded additional powers in order to re-establish peace. The question at issue, it was said, was whether the colonies were or were not the colonies of Great Britain. If they were, they should be held firmly; if they were not, they should be released. Upon this question there was, just at this time, great unanimity in England. The authority of the Crown, it was urged, must be maintained at all hazards. Any act in violation of that must be punished. Even the party in opposition yielded much upon this point. Thus the ministry were fully prepared to introduce the most pronounced penal measures; and on the eighteenth, Lord North, disregarding constitutional forms, which forbid that any should be condemned unheard, brought in the famous Boston Port Bill, — a measure for suspending the trade and closing the harbor of Boston during the king's pleasure, and enforcing the act by the joint operations of an army and a fleet.[2] The bill was stoutly opposed by Burke, Barré, Dowdeswell, Pownall, and others; but in two weeks it passed through the various stages and was carried without a division in the Commons, and unanimously in the Lords, and became a law March 31 by the royal assent. This act was to go into effect on the first day of June. It took away from Boston the privilege of landing and discharging, as well as of loading and shipping, all goods, wares, and merchandise.[3] It constituted Marblehead a port of entry, and Salem the seat of government. As if this were not enough, Lord North now brought in within a month a series of measures, compared with which all that had gone before was mild and legitimate. The ministry seemed determined to wreak their vengeance upon the devoted head of Massachusetts; and nothing was too arbitrary, radical, or revolutionary for them to recommend. Up to this point there might have been a way of reconciliation. The cruel and exasperating Port Bill would probably have been withdrawn upon certain easy and perhaps reasonable conditions. The tea-tax and its preamble, which gave such offence to the colonists, might have been repealed; indeed an attempt to do so was made on April 19, when Edmund Burke made his ever memorable speech.[4] But when the penal

[1] These letters were from Hutchinson and other royal governors, and from Admiral Montagu and the consignees of the tea, accompanied by a large number of pamphlets, manifestoes, handbills, etc., issued in the colonies. [The king and council had already, Feb. 7, 1774, considered the petition of the House of Representatives for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver, and had dismissed the charges "as groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent." The official copy sent to Arthur Lee, No. 3 Garden Court, Temple, is in the Lee Papers, University of Virginia. — Ed.]

[2] "The offence of the Americans," it was said in the course of the debate, "is flagitious. The town of Boston ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed. *Delenda est Carthago.* You will never meet with proper obedience to the laws of this country until you have destroyed that nest of locusts." — *Mass. Gazette*, May 19, 1774.

[3] [See Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 153. — Ed.]

[4] *Works*, Boston, 1865, vol. ii. p. 1.

measures, commonly known as the Regulation or Reconstructive Acts, were passed, a fatal blow was struck at the American system of local self-government, and the conflict was beyond recall.

These acts, which passed in rapid succession during the month of April, were for the purpose of "regulating the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay."[1] The speech of Lord George Germain, on the introduction of the bill, shows how sadly ignorance concerning America, and contempt for her institutions, had pervaded England at this time. Speaking of North's plan to punish the people of Massachusetts, he said: —

> "Nor can I think he will do a better thing than to put an end to their town-meetings. I would not have men of a mercantile cast every day collecting themselves together and debating about political matters. I would have them follow their occupations as merchants, and not consider themselves as ministers of that country. . . . I would wish to see the Council in that country similar to the House of Lords in this. . . . The whole are the proceedings of a tumultuous and riotous rabble, who ought, if they had the least prudence, to follow their mercantile employments, and not trouble themselves with politics and government which they do not understand."

When he had finished this remarkable speech, Lord North arose and said: "I thank the noble lord for every proposition he has held out. They are worthy of a great mind, and such as ought to be adopted."[2]

For the purpose of strengthening the executive authority, these Regulation Acts, without giving any hearing to the Province, provided, —

1. In total violation of the charter, that the councillors who had been chosen hitherto by the Legislature should be appointed by the king, and hold at his pleasure. The superior judges were to hold at the will of the king, and be dependent upon him for their salaries; and the inferior judges were to be removable at the discretion of the royal governor. The sheriffs were to be appointed and removed by the executive; and the juries were to be selected by the dependent sheriffs. Town-meetings were to be abolished, except for the election of officers, or by the special permission of the Governor. This bill passed by a vote of more than three to one.

2. Magistrates, revenue officers, and soldiers, charged with capital offences, could be tried in England or Nova Scotia. This bill passed by a vote of more than four to one.

3. A military act provided for the quartering of troops upon the towns.[3]

These oppressive edicts, said the Massachusetts committee in their circular, were only what might have been expected from a Parliament claiming[4] the right to make laws binding the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

[1] [The debates are given in 4 *Force's American Archives*, i. — Ed.]

[2] *Parliamentary History*, xvii. pp. 1192–1195. Also Boston newspapers of May 19 and 23, 1774.

[3] *Boston Post-Boy*, June 6 and 13, 1774. Gordon, *American Revolution*, i. 232–235. Mahon, *History of England*, vi. 5, 6. Bancroft, vi. 525, 526. Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, pp. 345–347. Dana, *Oration at Lexington*, April 19, 1875.

[4] In the declaratory act. See earlier in this chapter.

The news of the Port Act created, as may well be supposed, the greatest indignation in the colonies; but Boston stood firm, and the other seaports refused to profit by her patriotic sufferings.

In May Hutchinson was recalled, to the great relief of the people of the province; and Thomas Gage, Commander-in-chief of the continent, was appointed also Governor of Massachusetts. In all the political agitations in the colonies thus far, Gage had behaved so discreetly as an officer that he enjoyed a considerable share of public confidence. After a lengthy interview with his predecessor at Castle William, he landed at Long Wharf, on May 17, saluted by the ships and batteries, and received by the civil officers of the province. The cadets, under Colonel Hancock, performed escort duty, and the council presented a loyal address at the State House.[1] A public dinner followed at Faneuil Hall.[2] Undoubtedly this welcome given to Gage was owing, in part, to the delight of the people at the retirement of Hutchinson.[3] But it soon appeared that the new Governor, with many excellent traits, was not the man to reconcile or to subdue, if indeed any such man could have been found in the whole British service at this critical moment. It devolved upon Gage to close the port of Boston and to enforce the measures of the odious Regulation Acts. The blockade of the harbor began on the first day of June, after which all intercourse by water, even among the nearest islands or from pier to pier, was rigidly forbidden. Not a ferry could ply to Charlestown, nor a scow to Dorchester. Warehouses were at once useless, wharves deserted, and ordinary business prostrated. All classes felt the scourge of the oppressor; yet there was no regret at the position which the town had deliberately taken in defence of its constitutional rights. These were dearer to the inhabitants than property or peace or even life itself, as was shortly to be proved. Expressions of sympathy poured in from all quarters. Supplies of food and money were generously sent from the other colonies as well as from the neighboring towns.[4] Salem and Marblehead scorned to profit

[1] ["The Town House is fitted up in the most elegant manner, with the whole of the outside painted of a stone color, which gives it a fine appearance." — June, 1773, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865, p. 324. Hancock had the previous March, 1774, delivered the usual Massacre oration, which in the opinion of some was written by Samuel Adams. *John Adams's Works*, ii. 332; Wells's *S. Adams*. — ED.]

[2] [Gage at this "elegant entertainment gave 'Governor Hutchinson' as a toast, which was received by a general hiss." — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1865, p. 328. — ED.]

[3] [The friends of Hutchinson and the prerogative made themselves conspicuous by an address on his leaving the province, and a list of the "addressers" is given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1870. — ED.]

[4] [There are at the City Hall various lists of donations received at this time, with the records of the donation committee. See Vol. I. p. xx. The correspondence of this committee is in 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. Colonel A. H. Hoyt has given an account of these gifts in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. A subscription-list of contributions raised in Virginia in 1774, for the "distressed inhabitants of Boston," is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December, 1857. When the Marbleheaders sent in provisions for the Boston poor, they were refused passage for them by water, and an expensive land-carriage of twenty-eight miles was rendered necessary, as even a ferry passage was refused. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1865, p. 336. Benefactors in South Carolina and Connecticut were equally compelled to pay for a land passage. — ED.]

by the sufferings of Boston, and offered the free use of their wharves and stores.[1]

The committee of correspondence assumed with much ability the arduous and responsible task of guiding public affairs at this crisis. "A solemn league and covenant" to suspend all commercial intercourse with England, and forego the use of all British merchandise, was forwarded to every town in the province; and the names of those who refused to sign it were to be published. The first act of the Legislature at Salem was to protest against the illegal order for its removal. The House of Representatives was the fullest ever known in the country, one hundred and twenty-nine being present. It was for them to fix the time and place for the proposed meeting of the Continental Congress, for which Samuel Adams and his coadjutors were diligently laboring.[2] While they were sitting with closed doors a message came from the Governor dissolving the Assembly, but not until its important work had been done.[3] Baffled in his purposes and chagrined at the success of the Patriots, Gage, without consulting the council, issued his foolish and malignant proclamation against the combination not to purchase British goods. He denounced it as "unwarrantable, hostile, and traitorous;" its subscribers as "open and declared enemies of the King and Parliament;" and he "enjoined and commanded all magistrates and other officers . . . to apprehend and secure for trial all persons who might publish or sign, or invite others to sign, the covenant." It was known that the Governor was endeavoring to fasten charges of rebellion upon several of the popular leaders, in order to secure their arrest; but his plans did not succeed.

In August the Regulation Acts were officially received by Gage and immediately put into effect, sweeping away the long cherished Charter of Massachusetts, and precipitating the irreversible choice between submission and resistance. Samuel Adams wrote:[4] —

"Boston suffers with dignity. If Britain by her multiplied oppressions accelerates the independency of her colonies, whom will she have to blame but herself? It is

[1] [In 1774 John Kneeland printed at Boston a part of Thomas Prince's sermon on the destruction of D'Anville's fleet in 1746, "with a view to encourage and animate the people of God to put their trust in him, under the severe and keen distresses now taking place, by the rigorous execution of the Port Bill." Ellis Gray, writing from Boston at this time to a friend in Jamaica, somewhat drolly apologizes for his slack correspondence on the ground that he lived "seventeen miles from a sea-port," — referring to Salem and Marblehead. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876, p. 315. The *Royal Amer. Mag.*, June, 1774, has one of Revere's satires on the Port Bill, in "The Able Doctor, or America swallowing the bitter Draught." The same magazine for May contains the act for blockading the port of Boston. An expression of the prevailing feeling is found in Andrews's letters. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1865, p. 327. — Ed.]

[2] [C. M. Endicott's *Leslie's Retreat*, p. 9. — Ed.]

[3] The Congress was appointed to meet in September, at Philadelphia, and the Massachusetts delegates were Bowdoin (who, however, could not attend), Samuel Adams, John Adams, Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine. [This Congress sat in Philadelphia from September 5 to October 26. The idea of it is said to have originated with Franklin. Its proceedings, issued in Philadelphia, were at once reprinted in Boston. Numerous references are given in Winsor's *Handbook*, pp. 16–19. — Ed.]

[4] Letters to William Checkley and Charles Thomson, June 1 and 2, 1774.

a consolatory thought that an empire is rising in America. . . . Our people think they should pursue the line of the Constitution as far as they can; and if they are driven from it they can with propriety and justice appeal to God and to the world. . . . Nothing is more foreign to our hearts than a spirit of rebellion. Would to God they all, even our enemies, knew the warm attachment we have for Great Britain, notwithstanding we have been contending these ten years with them for our rights!"

That attachment was ruthlessly severed by the operation of the new acts. "We were not the revolutionists," says Mr. Dana.[1] "The King and Parliament were the revolutionists. They were the radical innovators. We were the conservators of existing institutions. They were seeking to overthrow and reconstruct on a theory of parliamentary omnipotence. . . . We broke no chain."

Boston was now occupied by a large military force. The Fourth, Fifth, Thirty-eighth, and Forty-third regiments, together with twenty-two pieces of cannon and three companies of artillery, were encamped on the Common.[2] The Welsh Fusileers were encamped on Fort Hill, and several companies of the Sixty-fourth were at Castle William, where most of the powder and other stores had been removed from New York. The Fifty-ninth was encamped at Salem, to protect the meetings of the new mandamus council; and two companies of the Sixty-fourth were at Danvers, to cover the Governor's residence.[3] The camp at Boston was, in the absence of Gage, under command of Earl Percy, who had recently arrived with Colonels Pigott and Jones. Lord Percy describes the situation with some minuteness in his letters written to friends in England at this time:[4] —

"The people, by all accounts, are extremely violent and wrong-headed; so much so that I fear we shall be obliged to come to extremities." "One thing I will be bold

[1] *Oration at Lexington*, April 19, 1875.

[2] [We get a glimpse of the British camp at this time in the privately printed *Memoir and Letters of Captain W. Glanville Evelyn of the Fourth Regiment* ("*King's Own*"), which was printed in 1879 at Oxford, edited by G. D. Scull. This officer joined his regiment in June, 1774, and wrote home sundry letters here preserved, in which the provincials appear as "rascals and poltroons." In December he was quartered in a house, and, having "laid in a good stock of Port and Madeira, hoped to spend the winter as well as our neighbors." He speaks of Sam Adams "as moving and directing this immense continent, — a man of ordinary birth and desperate fortune, who, by his abilities and talent for factious intrigue, has made himself of some consequence; whose political existence depends upon the continuance of the present dispute, and who must sink into insignificancy and beggary the moment it ceases" (p. 46). "Hancock is a poor contemptible fool, led about by Adams." Dr. Holmes draws the picture of the Common at this time: —

"And over all the open green
  Where grazed of late the harmless kine,
The cannon's deepening ruts are seen,
  The war-horse stamps, the bayonets shine."

John Andrews, writing of the delegation to the Congress of September, 1774, says: "Robert Treat Paine set out with the committee this morning [Aug. 10]. They made a very respectable parade in sight of five of the regiments encamped on the Common; being in a coach and four, preceded by two white servants well mounted and armed, with four blacks behind in livery, two on horseback and two footmen." — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865, p. 339. — ED.]

[3] [Here, at the country residence of Robert Hooper, "King Hooper" of Marblehead, Gage had his headquarters for a while, Salem being then, under the Port Bill, the capital. On Aug. 27, 1774, Gage left Danvers and moved his headquarters to Boston, and the Fifty-ninth and Sixty-fourth regiments soon followed him, the former taking post on Boston Neck to throw up entrenchments there. — ED.]

[4] Private letters in possession of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and copied, by

to say, which is, that till you make their committees of correspondence and congresses with the other colonies high treason, and try them for it in England, you never must expect perfect obedience from this to the mother country." "This is the most beautiful country I ever saw in my life, and if the people were only like it we should do very well. Everything, however, is as yet quiet, but they threaten much. Not that I believe they dare act." "We have at last got the new acts, and twenty-six of the new council have accepted and are sworn in; but for my own part, I doubt whether they will be more active than the old ones. Such a set of timid creatures I never did see. Those of the new council that live at any distance from town have remained here ever since they took the oaths, and are, I am told, afraid to go home again. As for the opposite party, they are arming and exercising all over the country. . . . Their method of eluding that part of the act which relates to the town-meetings is strongly characteristic of the people. They say that since the town-meetings are forbid by the act, they shall not hold them; but as they do not see any mention made of county meetings, they shall hold them for the future. They therefore go a mile out of town, do just the same business there they formerly did in Boston, call it a county meeting, and so elude the act.[1] In short, I am certain that it will require a great length of time, much steadiness, and many troops, to re-establish good order and government. I plainly foresee that there is not a new councillor or magistrate who will dare to act without at least a regiment at his heels; and it is not quite clear to me that he will even act then as he ought to do." "The delegates from this province are set out (August 21) to meet the General Congress at Philadelphia. They talk much of non-importation, and an agreement between the colonies. . . . I flatter myself, however, that instead of agreeing to anything, they will all go by the ears together at this Congress. If they don't, there will be more work cut out for administration in America than perhaps they are aware of."

It soon appeared that the new acts were powerless to accomplish the end contemplated by the Government. With all the support furnished by a royal governor, royal judges, and a royal army, the courts could not sit, jurors would not serve, and the people would not obey. Sheriffs were timid, councillors resigned their places and soldiers deserted. Meanwhile the colonists were busy, maturing their plans in clubs, caucuses, and conventions. Whether these were legal or illegal under the new act, they did not stop to inquire.

permission, by the present writer. Hugh Earl Percy was born August 25, 1742. In early life he adopted the military profession, and served under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick in the Seven Years' War. He arrived in Boston July 5, 1774, with the Fifth Regiment of foot, and remained in the service in this country until May 3, 1777, when he returned to England with the rank of lieut.-general in North America. He was especially prominent at Lexington, and in the attack on Fort Washington, at King's Bridge. Soon after his return to England, he was selected to head a commission to offer terms of conciliation to Congress; but, owing to a division in the British Cabinet, Lord Percy declined the offer, and the project was abandoned. After this, he represented the city of Westminster in Parliament until the year 1786, when he succeeded his father as Duke of Northumberland. For many years his time was chiefly employed in improving his princely estates. During the war with France, he raised from among his tenantry a corps of fifteen hundred men, called the "Percy Yeomanry," the whole corps being paid, clothed, and maintained by himself. He was a Knight of the Garter, a member of several learned societies, and the recipient of many of the highest honors of the realm. He died at Northumberland House, London, July 10, 1817, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and was buried in St. Nicholas Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

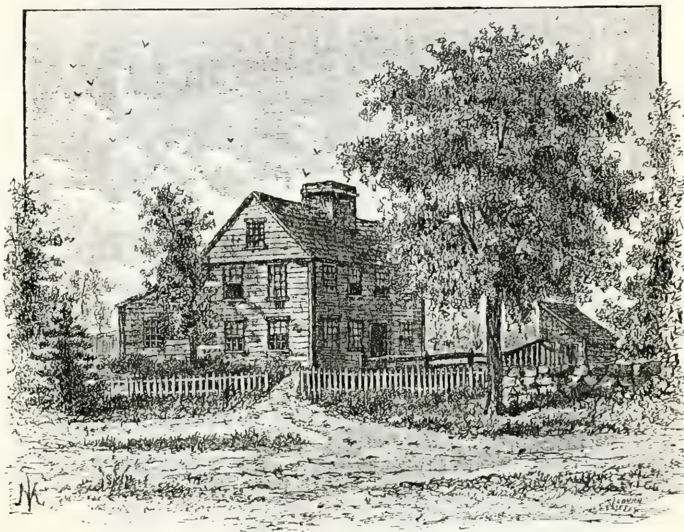
[1] [This explains the somewhat strange appellation of the "Suffolk Resolves," mentioned later in the text. — ED.]

Sir
Your humble Serv.t
Percy.
Ap.l 20th 1775 Boston[1]

No act of Parliament, they maintained, could impose restrictions upon those ancient and chartered rights which they had always enjoyed. With this

[1] This cut follows an engraving by V. Green, executed in London, in 1777, and measuring 18 × 12½ inches. The plate was engraved from a portrait presented by the Duke of Northumberland, July 30, 1776, to the magistrates of Westminster, and placed in the council chamber of

conviction they had resisted the injustice of the Stamp Act and the Tea Act, and they were not the men to yield now to a tyranny far greater than either.



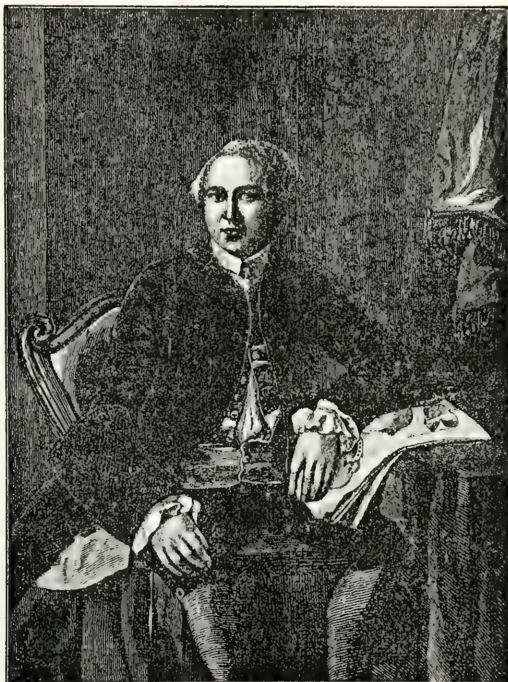
THE WARREN HOUSE IN ROXBURY.[1]

The Regulating Act had not been long in operation before the popular resistance which it encountered found appropriate expression in the famous Suffolk Resolves drawn up by Warren, who acted as a kind of director-general during the absence of Samuel Adams at Philadelphia. These resolves,

their Guild Hall in commemoration of Lord Percy's public services. The portrait was evidently a duplicate of the one by Pompeio Battoni, now at Alnwick Castle, a copy of which was made in 1879 by order of the present Duke and presented, through the writer of this chapter, to the Town of Lexington. Another likeness of Earl Percy, taken later in life, may be seen with a brief account in Captain Evelyn's *Memoir and Letters*, p. 127

[1] [This cut follows a painting now owned by the wife of Dr. Buckminster Brown, of Boston, a descendant of General Warren. The house was built in 1720 by Joseph Warren, the General's grandfather. It was used as quarters for Colonel David Brewer's regiment during the summer of 1775. The late Dr. John C. Warren acquired the estate in 1805; and selling off all but the house in 1833, he built, in 1846, the present stone cottage on the site. (*Life of Dr. John Warren*, ch. i.) In the old house (of which another view, as well as one of the present cottage, is given in Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 213) Joseph Warren was born, in 1741; but at this time he lived on Hanover Street, where the American House now stands, hiring the mansion house of Joseph Green, which stood there. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1875, p. 101. Ellis Ames, Esq., has parts of Warren's day-book between January, 1771, and January, 1775, showing the extent of his medical practice. Frothingham, *Life of Warren*, p. 167. — ED.]

nineteen in number,[1] were adopted in September by the Suffolk convention, which met successively at Stoughton (Canton), Dedham,[2] and Milton.[3] They



In Committee of Safety Cambridge May 14. 1775
Jos Warren Ch

declared that the sovereign who breaks his compact with his subjects forfeits their allegiance. They arraigned the unconstitutional acts of Parliament,

[1] Given in Frothingham's *Warren*, pp. 365–367, and Appendix i.

[2] At the house of Richard Woodward.

[3] At the house of Daniel Vose.

[4] [This cut follows a painting by Copley, now in the possession of Dr. Buckminster Brown, of Boston, who kindly allowed it to be photographed for the engraver's use. Perkins, in his *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 115, says: "The canvas is about five feet long by four wide, and the color-

and rejected all officers appointed under their authority. They directed collectors of taxes to pay over no money to the royal treasurer. They advised the towns to choose their officers of militia from the friends of the people. They favored a Provincial Congress, and promised respect and submission to the Continental Congress. They determined to act upon the defensive as long as reason and self-preservation would permit, "but no longer." They threatened to seize every Crown officer in the province as hostages if the Governor should arrest any one for political reasons. They

ing is very beautiful. It was one of Copley's last portraits before he left Boston for Europe in 1774, and as a piece of artistic skill, as well as for its historic interest, has been pronounced by good judges to be one of the most valuable of Copley's portraits in this country. It was painted while General Warren was the presiding officer of the Massachusetts Congress." The sitter and the artist were intimate friends, and the portrait was painted for General Warren's children, and has always been in the possession of some branch of the family. This portrait, with that of Mrs. Warren, by the same artist, was loaned to Mr. W. W. Corcoran for exhibition in his gallery at Washington, D. C. There is extant a letter from Lord Lyndhurst in which he makes inquiries respecting it, in reference, it is supposed, to the possibility of securing it for an English collection. These paintings have been in Boston since the spring of 1876, and have never before been reproduced. That of Mrs. Warren, of the same size, was probably painted three or four years previously. She died in 1773, at the age of twenty-six.

The familiar engraved likeness of General Warren, following another Copley, 29 x 24 inches, in citizen's dress, showing one hand, was originally owned by General Arnold Welles who married Warren's daughter, from whom it passed to the late Dr. John C. Warren, and is now owned by his grandson of the same name. Another half-length by Copley, belonging to the city, is now in the Art Museum. Early engravings of Warren are to be found in the *Impartial History of the War*, Boston edition (engraved by J. Norman, full-length, and showing the battle of Bunker Hill in the background), and in the *Boston Magazine*, May, 1784, following Copley's picture and engraved by J. Norman. A colored engraving resembling Copley's likeness was also frequently seen, and a copy is now preserved in the pavilion on Bunker Hill. A portrait statue, based on Copley's likeness, and executed by Henry Dexter, was erected in this pavilion in 1857, when dedicatory services took place on the anniversary of the battle, with an address by Edward Everett. An engraving of the statue is given in the commemorative volume which was issued at the time by the Bunker Hill Monument Association. See also George Washington Warren's *History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association*.

General Warren left four children, two sons and two daughters. The sons died in early manhood. One daughter married General Arnold Welles, of Boston, and died without children. The second daughter was twice married: first to Mr. Lyman, of Northampton, and second to Judge Newcomb, of Greenfield, Mass. This daughter died in 1826, leaving one son, Joseph Warren Newcomb, who had two children, a son and daughter. The descendants of General Warren now living are a great-granddaughter, who is married and lives in Boston, and a great-great-grandson, who is a cadet at West Point.

A sumptuous volume, *Genealogy of Warren*, by Dr. John C. Warren, was printed in Boston, in 1854, to show the connections of the Patriot both in this country and presumably and possibly in England. For an account of the papers of General Warren, see *Life of John C. Warren*, i. 217. One of Pendleton's earliest lithographs was of Warren's portrait, which appeared with a memoir in the *Boston Monthly Magazine*, June, 1826.

Abigail Adams repeats a story of an intended indignity to the body of Warren after his fall at Bunker Hill, from which he was saved by his Freemasonry affiliations. (*Familiar Letters*, p. 91.) On the repossession of Boston after the siege, the body was exhumed from the spot where he fell; and after an oration pronounced over it by Perez Morton (which was printed and is quoted in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 127*), it was deposited in the Minot tomb in the Granary Burying-ground; and in 1825 was removed to a tomb beneath St. Paul's, whence, at a later day, the remains were again removed to Forest Hills cemetery. Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 251. See an account of some relics of Warren by J. S. Loring in the *Hist. Mag.*, December, 1857. His sword is in the possession of Dr. John Collins Warren. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1866, p. 348. — ED.]

* Also reprinted in a *Biographical Sketch of General Joseph Warren, embracing his Boston Orations of 1772 and 1775; together with the Eulogy pronounced by Perez Morton, in 1776.* By a Bostonian. *Boston*. 1857.

also arranged a system of couriers to carry messages to town officers and corresponding committees. They earnestly advocated the well known American principles of social order as the basis of all political action; exhorted all persons to abstain from riots and all attacks upon the property of any person whatsoever; and urged their countrymen to convince their "enemies that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, their conduct should be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country." For boldness and practical utility these resolves surpassed anything that had been promulgated in America. They were sent by Paul Revere as a memorial to the Congress at Philadelphia, where they were received with great applause, and recommended to the whole country.

Gage, perceiving that the time for reasoning had passed, applied[1] for more troops, seized the powder belonging to the Province,[2] and began the construction of fortifications on the Neck, near the Roxbury line, commanding the only land entrance which Boston had.[3] Beyond the limits of Boston

[1] [Correspondence of Gage at this time with Lord Dartmouth is in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1876, p. 347. See also *Life of Lord Barrington.* — Ed.]

[2] [On September 1, 1774, Gage sent 260 soldiers, who embarked in boats at Long Wharf, to seize the Province's store of powder, which was kept in the old mill on the road from Winter Hill to Arlington. William Brattle, at that time commanding the Province militia, had instigated the movement. It was successful, and the troops returned bringing not only the powder, but two field-pieces which they had seized in Cambridge. This theft was soon avenged. An artillery company had been organized by Capt. David Mason in 1763, and was known commonly as "the train," and attached to the Boston regiment. Its command had passed in 1768 to Lieutenant Adino Paddock, who was a good drill master, and who derived instruction himself from members of a company of royal artillery stationed at the Castle; and the train became the school of many good officers of the Revolution. Paddock received two light brass field-pieces, and uniformed a number of German emigrants in white frocks, hair caps, and broadswords, to drag the cannon. These pieces had, it is supposed, been cast in London for the Province from some old cannon sent over for the purpose, and they bore the Province arms. They seem to have been first used when the king's birthday was celebrated, June 4, 1768, in firing a salute, when the train paraded with Colonel Phips's governor's troop and Colonel Jackson's regiment. At the outbreak of the war these pieces were kept in a gun-house at the corner of West Street; and as Paddock adhered to the royal cause, and might surrender them to Gage, they were stealthily removed by some young Patriots and, on a good opportunity, conveyed by boat to the American camp, where they did good service then and through the war; and in 1788 Knox, then secretary of war, had them inscribed with the names of Hancock and Adams, and they now may be seen in the summit-chamber of Bunker Hill Monument. (Drake's *Knox*, p. 127.) The young men who accomplished their removal were, among others, Abraham Holbrook, Nathaniel Balch, Samuel Gore, Moses Grant, and Jeremy Gridley. (Tudor's *Life of Otis*, p. 452.) Judge Story's father was another. (*Life and Letters of Judge Story*, i. 9. See also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* vii. 139.) The committee of safety, Feb. 23, 1775, instructed Dr. Warren to ascertain what number of Paddock's men could be depended on. Drake, *Cincinnati Society*, p. 543, gives a partial list of the train-members, designating such as subsequently served in the Patriot army. Paddock left Boston with Gage, and died in the Isle of Jersey in 1804, aged seventy-six. Mills and Hicks's *Register*, 1775, gives a statement of the Boston military at this time. See Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 49.— Ed.]

Adino Paddock
1772

[3] [Andrews records, Sept. 5, 1774, that Gage began to build block-houses and otherwise repair the fortifications at the Neck, but he could get none of the artisans of the town to help him. Three days later Gage, "with a large parade of

and Salem the Governor had scarcely any power. The people of the interior counties recognized only the authority of the committees of correspondence, and of the congresses composed of their own representatives.

On the fifth of October, the members of the Massachusetts Assembly appeared at the court-house in Salem, but were refused recognition by

MRS. JOSEPH WARREN.[1]

Gage; thereupon they resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress and adjourned to Concord, where, on the eleventh, two hundred and sixty members, representing over two hundred towns, took their seats, and elected

attendants," surveyed the skirts of the town opposite the country shore, supposably for determining on sites of batteries. See an editorial note to the chapter following this. In November, 1774, Nathaniel Appleton writes to Josiah Quincy, Jr.: "The main guard is kept at George Erving's warehouse in King Street The new-erected fortifications on the Neck are laughed at by our old Louisburg soldiers as mud walls." *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, p. 175. — ED.]

[1] [She died in 1773, aged 26. The *Boston Gazette* of May 3 published some commemorative verses on her. Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 228. This painting is the pendant of that of General Warren, and the two have always been owned together. — ED.]

John Hancock president, and Benjamin Lincoln secretary. They sent a message to the Governor, remonstrating against his hostile attitude. He answered by making recriminations; and shortly after issued a proclamation denouncing them as "an unlawful assembly whose proceedings tended to ensnare the inhabitants of the Province, and draw them into perjuries, riots, sedition, treason, and rebellion." The Congress, having adjourned to Cambridge, adopted a series of resolves providing for the creation of a "committee of public safety,"[1] — a sort of directory empowered to organize the militia and to procure military stores.[2] A committee of supplies was also appointed, and three general officers — Preble, Ward, and Pomeroy — were chosen by ballot. Thus the people of Massachusetts proceeded in a calm and statesmanlike manner to organize themselves into an independent existence, and to make suitable provision for their own political, financial, and military necessities. They had no intention of attacking the British troops, but took measures to defend themselves in case of necessity.[3] Hitherto they had carefully avoided being the aggressors, and they were determined to adhere to this policy; but they considered it the part of wisdom to be prepared for any emergency which might arise in the present complicated state of affairs. Consequently, all the towns were advised to enroll companies of Minute Men, who should be thoroughly drilled and equipped.[4]

Jedidiah Preble

Artemas Ward

Gage also on his part was actively employed in strengthening the garrison, and by the end of the year he had no less than eleven regiments, with artillery and marines, quartered in Boston, besides a large number of ships of war at anchor in the harbor. During all this time the Tory party was endeavoring, without much success, to secure adherents to the royal cause.[5] Most of their leaders, finding their position uncomfortable in the

[1] Hancock, Warren, and Church were the Boston members.

[2] [Mr. C. C. Smith contributed a valuable paper on "The Manufacture of Gunpowder in America," to *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876. — Ed.]

[3] [It was at the Green Dragon Tavern, which stood on what now makes Union Street, near where it runs into Haymarket Square (there is a doubt whether the building now marked with a dragon on a tablet gives correctly the site), and whose earlier history is noted in Vol. II, Introduction, p. v, that the leading Patriots held their conclaves. It was in front a two-story brick building with a pitch roof, but of greater elevation in the rear; and over the entrance an iron rod projected, and upon it was crouched the copper dragon which was the tavern's sign. It was probably selected as a meeting place because Warren was the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Masons, who had their quarters here. Paul Revere records how he was one of upwards of thirty men, chiefly mechanics, who banded together to keep watch on the British designs in 1774-75, and met here. The old building disappeared in October, 1828, when the street was widened to accommodate the travel to Charlestown. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 605. — Ed.]

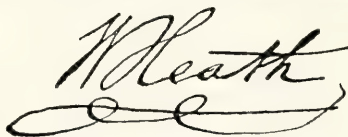
[4] [The last monthly meeting of the Friends was held in Boston in the eleventh month of 1774. "The record speaks of its being a time of difficulty in Boston on account of the present calamity [the war]; and the same likely to attend them through the winter, Boston monthly meeting is dropped." — *An Historical Account of the various Meeting-houses of the Society of Friends in Boston*, published by direction of the Yearly Meeting, Boston, 1874. — Ed.]

[5] See Sabine's *Loyalists*.

country towns, took refuge in Boston as a kind of asylum. Their organs denounced the Patriots as rebels, rioters, republicans, and sowers of sedition.

At the beginning of the year 1775 the American question was brought forward in the House of Lords by the Earl of Chatham, who, in one of his most eloquent speeches, urged the immediate removal of the king's troops from Boston. He eulogized the American people, their union, their spirit of liberty, and the wisdom which marked the proceedings of their Congress.[1] He charged the ministry with misleading the king and alienating the affections of his subjects. Chatham was ably supported by Shelburne, Camden, and Rockingham; but all their appeals "availed no more than the whistling of the wind." The motion was rejected by nearly four to one. This result, following as it did the rejection by the Cabinet of the petition of Congress which Franklin had just presented, was sufficient proof that nothing was to be hoped for from that quarter. If any further evidence was wanted, it was soon found in the instructions which were sent to Gage to act offensively, and in the Restraining Act, which excluded New England from the fisheries.[2]

While England was thus forcing on the issue, America was preparing to meet it. The new Congress convened at Cambridge in February, and appointed its committee of safety and the delegates to the next Continental Congress. Provision was also made for the militia; and Colonels Thomas



and Heath were commissioned additional general officers. "Resistance to tyranny!" was now the watchword for Massachusetts. "Life and liberty shall go together! Continue steadfast!" said the Patriots; "and with a proper sense of your dependence on God, nobly defend those rights which Heaven gave and no man ought to take from us."[3]

[1] [See the *History of Lord North's Administration*, p. 187; Hugh Boyd's *Miscellaneous Works*, i. 196; *Annual Register*, 1775, p. 47; Belsham's *Great Britain*, vi. 91; *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, p. 318. — ED.]

[2] [See various references for political movements in England at this time in Winsor's *Handbook*, p. 23, etc. — ED.]

[3] [In March came the anniversary of the massacre, and Warren's most famous address in commemoration. See Mr. Goddard's chapter. The diary of Joshua Green, making note of it, speaks of the attempts of British officers present at the town-meeting which followed, to break it up by unseemly disturbances. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1875, p. 101.) About this time (March 22, 1775), according to statements printed in a Boston letter in the *New York Journal*, a number of drunken British officers set to hacking the fence before Hancock's house; and on a repetition of such annoyances, Hancock applied for a guard. While the congregation of the West Church were observing a fast, drums and fifes were played by another party close under the windows. Something of the feeling of the time can be gathered from letters of Quincy, Cooper, Winthrop, and Warren, printed in *Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, June, 1863, — all addressed to Benjamin Franklin in London. — ED.]

Gage did his utmost to disarm and disperse the militia and seize their military stores. He sent expeditions to Marshfield and Jamaica Plain and Salem;[1] but the judicious and spirited conduct of the inhabitants defeated his object, and the peace was not then disturbed. For a time it was quiet, but it was only the lull before the storm; and the hour of the American Revolution, which had been so long in coming, was near at hand. The War of Independence on this continent began[2] at last on that memorable morning, enshrined forever in the annals of freedom, when

"The troops were hastening from the town
To hold the country for the Crown;
But through the land the ready thrill
Of patriot hearts ran swifter still.

"The winter's wheat was in the ground,
Waiting the April zephyr's sound;
But other growth these fields should bear
When war's wild summons rent the air."

Edward G. Porter

[1] [The expedition to Salem was sent by Gage in transport from the Castle, and its three hundred troops, landing at Marblehead, marched to Salem to seize some cannon. Their failure and retreat is described in Charles M. Endicott's *Leslie's Retreat at the North Bridge, Feb.* 26, 1775, printed separately for vol. i. of the *Essex Institute Proceedings.* See also *Life of Timothy Pickering.* i., and George B. Loring's *Address* on the centennial observance of the event. The contemporary accounts of the Marshfield expedition are in Force's *American Archives.* Of another and more secret expedition just now, that of Captain Brown and his companion De Bernière, sent by Gage inland toward Worcester to pick up information, we have their own account, printed in the *American Archives*, i. Gage's instructions to these emissaries, Feb. 22, 1775, were printed in Boston in a pamphlet in 1779, which also contains "The Transactions of the British troops previous to and at the Battle of Lexington," as reported to Gage. — ED.]

[2] [Various claims have been made for earlier shedding of blood and resistance in arms, like the capture of the fort at Great Island, near Portsmouth, Dec. 13, 1774, — see *American Archives*, Belknap's *New Hampshire*, Amory's *General Sullivan* and *Governor Sullivan*, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1875; or the Golden Hill affair, Jan. 19, 1770, near New York, — see *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 233, and again January, 1869; or the Westminster massacre, March, 1775, in Vermont, — see *Hist. Mag.*, May, 1859; see also *Potter's American Monthly*, April, 1875. — ED.]

ADDENDA.

[Dr. John C. Warren has given to the Editor the following extract from his grandfather's diary (the elder Dr. John C. Warren): —

"Feb. 12, 1851. . . . That picture [of General Warren, then in Faneuil Hall] was copied from one belonging to me, painted by Copley for Governor Hancock, and which I bought when some of the relics of Governor Hancock's family were sold at the stone house in Beacon Street by the widow of Governor Hancock. This picture was copied by request of Hon. John Welles, who felt an interest from the fact that his brother, General Arnold Welles, married the elder daughter of General Warren. He (Mr. Welles) presented this copy to the city [in 1827]. . . . Another picture painted by Copley for General Warren . . . was in the possession of my father, who had charge of the relics of the family of General Warren; and when Mrs. Newcomb, the younger daughter of General Warren, was married, he allowed her to take this picture, which is now [1851] in the possession of her son, Mr. Newcomb." — ED.]

CHAPTER II.

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

BY THE REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D.

AFTER dark on the 18th of April, 1775, eight hundred British troops, being the grenadiers and light infantry of Gage's army, were withdrawn as quietly as might be from their barracks and marched to the bay at the foot of the Common. The spot is near where the station of the Providence Railroad now stands.[1] Boats from the squadron had been ordered to the same point to meet them. The troops were under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Francis Smith, of the Tenth regiment. Directly northward, crossing by about the line of Arlington Street what are now the Commonwealth Avenue and Beacon Street, the little army came to Phips's Farm, now East Cambridge, and after two hours took up its silent march through Cambridge to Lexington and Concord. The column consisted of men drawn from the Fifth regiment, the Tenth, Thirty-eighth, Forty-third, Fifty-second, Fifty-ninth, and Sixty-fifth. Officers and men from each of these corps appeared in the list of killed and wounded after the next day. In some instances they may have been detached on separate service; in which case no large number of the regiment was present on the march.[2]

What happened at Concord, and on the way thither and back, has worked its way into the world's history. "On the nineteenth of April," says the memorial of the Provincial Congress, "a day to be remembered by all Americans of the present generation, and which ought and doubtless will be handed down to ages yet unborn, the troops of Britain, unprovoked, shed the blood of sundry of the loyal American subjects of the British King in the field of Lexington."

The Common and the Back Bay were so far apart from the familiar haunts of men in those days, that General Gage had some hope, perhaps, of sending his men away without an immediate alarm.[3] But this hope was

[1] [Here was water enough for the boats (see map at beginning of Vol. I.), but Gage's account says simply "from the Common." Smith says nothing. The usual story runs simply "from the foot of the Common." — ED.]

[2] [Donkin, *Military Collections*, p. 170, says they carried "72 rounds of ball-cartridges per man." — ED.]

[3] [See the Editorial notes following this chapter. — ED.]

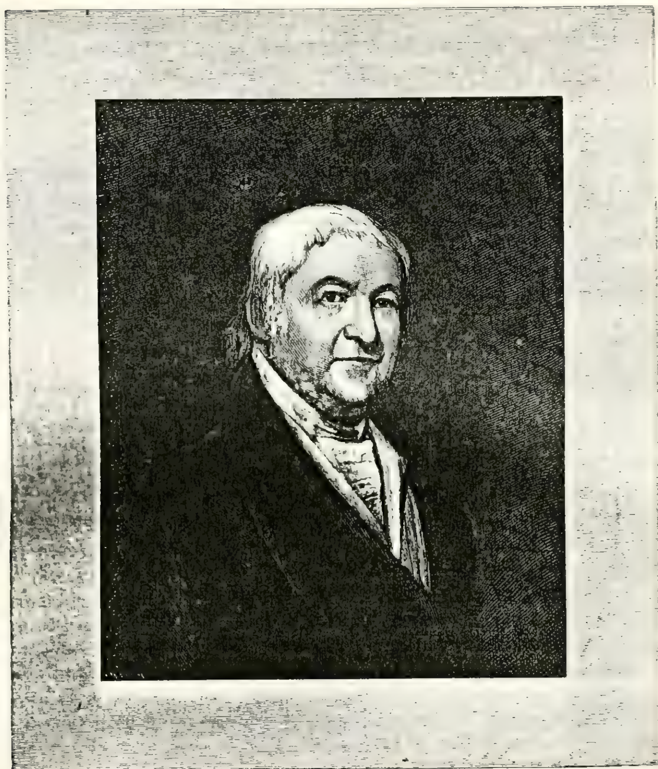
disappointed. Thirty men of the Patriot party, mostly mechanics, had bound themselves into a club, to observe the movements of the Tories and the army. They took turns as patrols, two and two, to watch the streets at night. Some one, who was perhaps one of these men, told Dr. Warren that the soldiers were moving to the Back Bay. Warren immediately sent William Dawes to Lexington, whither John Hancock and Samuel Adams had retired to escape arrest, supposing that one object of the expedition was to seize them. Dawes started on horseback, crossing the Neck to Roxbury. At ten o'clock Warren sent to Paul Revere, who was one of the club of patrolmen, and begged him to go to Lexington and tell Hancock and Adams of the movement, "and that it was thought they were the objects." Paul Revere went to a friend who had a boat in readiness, and crossed at once to Charlestown. So early was Gage's secret known. Stedman, in his history of the war, says that Gage told Percy of the movement as a profound secret; that Colonel Smith knew he was to go, but not where. As Lord Percy returned to his own quarters, he fell in with eight or ten men talking on the Common. One of them said: "The troops have marched, but will miss their aim." "What aim?" said Lord Percy. "Why," the man replied, "the cannon at Concord." Lord Percy, according to the story, returned to General Gage and told him, with surprise and disapprobation, what he had heard. The General said that his confidence had been betrayed, for that he had communicated his design to only one person beside Lord Percy. This is one of the flings of the time upon Mrs. Gage,[1] who was American-born. The English officers who disliked Gage were fond of saying that she betrayed his secrets. But in this case, after eight hundred men were embarked for Cambridge, ten Boston men on the Common might well have known it; and "the cannon at Concord" were a very natural aim. Warren, as has been said, thought of Hancock and Adams as the object.[2]

Paul Revere had already concerted with his friends on the Charlestown side, that, in the event of any movement by night on the part of the Eng-

[1] [Adams had learned of the movement to Concord from "a daughter of liberty, unequally yoked in point of politics," as Gordon says. — ED.]

[2] The following narrative, kindly communicated by a granddaughter of Dr. Stedman, the great-granddaughter of Henry Quincy, shows exactly how the news travelled from house to house without treachery. Mrs. Stedman lived in the Salter homestead, at the corner of Winter and Washington streets, where is now Tuttle's shoe-store: —

"It was difficult at that time to obtain servants, and Mrs. Stedman had been glad to secure the services of a woman whose husband was a British soldier named Gibson. On the evening of the eighteenth of April a grenadier in full regimentals knocked at the door and inquired for Gibson. On being told that he would soon be at the house, an order was left for him to report himself at eight o'clock at the bottom of the Common, equipped for an expedition. Mrs. Stedman hastened to inform her husband of this alarming summons, and he at once carried the intelligence to Dr. Benjamin Church, who lived near by on Washington Street. Gibson soon came in and took leave of his wife, pale with anxiety at the doubtful issue of this sudden and secret enterprise. 'Oh, Gibson!' said my mother, 'what are you going to do?' 'Ah, madam!' he replied, 'I know as little as you do. I only know that I must go.' He went, never to return. He fell on the retreat from Lexington. A few minutes before receiving the fatal shot he remarked to one of his comrades that he had never seen so hot a day, though he had served in many campaigns in Europe."



Paul Revere L'Col[1]

lish army, a lantern should be displayed in the tower of Christ Church. This signal had announced the news to the Charlestown people before

[1] [Of the likenesses of Revere, Mr. Huntoon, in an address at Canton in 1875, says: "Two pictures have been preserved of him; one, taken in the full prime of manhood, by Copley, which, after having lain neglected for many years in an attic in this town, has been finally restored. The other, by Stuart, brings up a venerable face and stately form." Perkins, *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 98, says the earlier picture is now owned by John Revere, of Boston. It shows him at a table, in shirt-sleeves, holding a silver cup, with engraver's tools at hand. The Stuart is followed in the present cut.

Revere's agreement for engraving and printing the paper money of the Provincial Congress is dated Watertown, Dec. 8, 1775, and is in the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii. 271. A cut of the Massachusetts treasury-note of 1775 is given in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 534. — ED.]

Revere arrived. He mounted his horse, and the famous "Midnight Ride" of Longfellow's ballad began. The night was clear and frosty.

With the exceptions of the patrolmen, of such leading Patriots as Warren and others, to whom they reported, and the families in which officers on duty were quartered, most of the people of Boston probably slept without knowing that the first step had been taken toward war. But before daylight on the nineteenth, General Gage had received word from Colonel Smith that the country was alarmed, and he at once ordered a detachment under arms to march out to reinforce that officer, and show the king's strength. This detachment was to be commanded by Earl Percy, who had led the five regiments which made the "promenade" of March 30 through Jamaica Plain and Dorchester. Percy was at this time a fine young officer of about thirty years of age.[1]

Percy's command consisted of the First Brigade, formed of the Fourth, Twenty-third, and Forty-seventh regiments, to which a detail of the Royal Marines was joined. To summon the marines, the order was sent to Major Pitcairn, their commander. In the precision of the red-tape of Gage's office, yet new to war, it was forgotten that Pitcairn had already gone as a volunteer with Colonel Smith. The letter therefore, with the orders to the marines, waited on his table unopened, while the rest of the detachment paraded. The venerable Harrison Gray Otis in his old age left the following account of this parade: —

"On the 19th April, 1775, I went to school for the last time. In the morning, about seven, Percy's brigade was drawn up, extending from Scollay's Buildings, through Tremont Street, and nearly to the bottom of the Mall, preparing to take up their march for Lexington. A corporal came up to me as I was going to school, and turned me off to pass down Court Street; which I did, and came up School Street to the school-house. It may well be imagined that great agitation prevailed, the British line being drawn up a few yards only from the school-house door. As I entered the school, I heard the announcement of *deponite libros*, and ran home for fear of the Regulars. Here ended my connection with Mr. Lovell's administration of the school. Soon afterward I left town, and did not return until after the evacuation by the British in March, 1776."[2]

Why does not the column move? Percy is ready. The infantry are here, and the light artillery; where are the marines? It is discovered at this late moment that the order for the marines is lying unopened at Major Pitcairn's quarters. Three or four hours before this, had anybody in Boston known it, Major Pitcairn had uttered on Lexington Common that famous appeal,

[1] He was afterward Duke of Northumberland. His letters, copied by the Rev. E. G. Porter on a recent visit at the castle of the present duke, give us some of our most vivid contemporary accounts of the Boston of that time.

[2] MS. letter of Otis to the writer, E. E. H. A tradition, which we have at first-hand, says that Master Lovell, with prophetic sagacity, said: "War's begun, and school's done; *deponite libros*." He knew that this was war, though the news of bloodshed did not reach Boston till noon.

[Loring, *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 193, makes the young Otis just afterward a witness of the troops' march by a house which stood where the Revere House now is. — ED.]

familiar to any school-boy in America for half a century after: "Ye villains, ye rebels, disperse! Lay down your arms. Why don't ye lay down your arms?"

But as yet no man knows where he is, and the orders for his marines are waiting. This is only an early instance of a sort of imbecility which hangs over the English army administration, revealed in many of the early anecdotes of the war.[1]

So soon as the marines were ready Percy marched, at nine o'clock. He moved south, through what is now Washington Street, to Roxbury, up the hill by the Roxbury meeting-house, to the right, where the Parting-Stone was then and is now; and so to the Brighton Bridge, where he was to cross Charles River to Cambridge. The distance from the head of School Street to that bridge by that road is about eight miles. But even if Gage was eager to save time, the boats were at Phips's Farm. Probably he and Percy both wished to make a military display. School-boys will be interested to know, that, as Percy's column approached Roxbury, Williams, the master of the grammar school, dismissed his school also, probably an hour later than Lovell dismissed his. He turned the key in the lock, joined his company, and served for the seven following years in the army. The Roxbury company of Minute Men had paraded in the mean time, summoned by the alarm from Lexington. When Percy passed, on the old road to Cambridge, they appear to have been at Jamaica Plain, whither the commander had marched them, and where Dr. Gordon was leading them in prayer. It is fair to suppose that no commander in his senses chose to have them in the line of Earl Percy's advance.

As Percy rode on, his band was playing Yankee Doodle. He observed a Roxbury boy who was uttering shouts of derision, jumping and dancing, so as to attract Percy's attention. Percy sent for the boy and asked him at what he was laughing. "You go out to Yankee Doodle," said the lad, "but you will dance by and by to Chevy Chase." It was a happy allusion to the traditions of the Percys; and Gordon, who records the anecdote, says the repartee stuck to Lord Percy all day.[2]

The day was already hot, when, after three or four hours' marching, Lord Percy and his army came to the bridge over Charles River, between Brighton and Cambridge. The bridge was a simple affair, and by General

[1] If anybody happens to care, Major Pitcairn is the nephew of the naval officer who discovered Pitcairn's Island. Observe "Marines."

[2] As the boy and Lord Percy remembered the ballad, these are some of the telling verses:—

God prosper long our noble King,
  Our lives and safetyes all;
A woefull hunting once there did
  In Chevy-Chase befall.

To drive the deere with hound and horne,
  Erle Percy took his way;
The child may rue, that is unborne,
  The hunting of that day.

. . . .

This fight did last from break of day
  Till setting of the sun,
For when they rung the evening bell
  The battle scarce was done.

With stout Erle Percy, there was slaine
  Sir John of Egerton,
Sir Robert Ratcliff, and Sir John,
  Sir James, that bold barron.

Horace Walpole in one of his letters of the time makes the same allusion to "the hunting of that day." *Walpole's Letters to Horace Mann*, June 5, 1775.

Heath's orders the boards had been so far removed that it was impassable; but the frugal committee of safety who had done this, not knowing yet what war was, had piled the boards on the Cambridge side, instead of boldly committing them to the water. Percy sent soldiers across on the string-pieces of the bridge, who relaid the boards so far that his troops could cross. He left his baggage-train for the better completion of the bridge, and pressed on, knowing indeed that the country was growing hot in more senses than one. When he came upon Cambridge Common, where were then no fences, but many roadways leading in different directions, Lord Percy was confused, and needed instructions as to his route. Cambridge was shut up. No man, woman, or child could be found to give him information, except a tutor of the college, Isaac Smith, afterward preceptor of Dummer Academy. Smith, being asked the road to Lexington, "could not tell a lie." Instead of sending Lord Percy down to Phips's Point, as the Patriots of the time thought he should have done, he directed him to Menotomy, now Arlington, on the right road.[1] Percy followed it, and arrived in Lexington at two or three in the afternoon,[2] in time to receive Smith's scattered and worried men; but his baggage-train, delayed at the bridge, was cut off at Menotomy.[3] It appears from Percy's own letters that he did not know till he arrived at Menotomy, about one in the afternoon, that there had been any fighting beyond.

Meanwhile Dr. Warren had heard in Boston, early in the day, by a special messenger, this news which Percy did not receive till one in the afternoon. Warren left his patients in the care of Eustis.[4] He crossed to Charlestown, and never returned to his home. As he left the ferry-boat he said to the last person with whom he spoke: "Keep up a brave heart! They have begun it, — that either party can do; and we 'll end it, — that only one can do." This was at eight in the morning. He mounted his horse at Charlestown. As he rode through the town he met Dr. Welch, who said, "Well, they are gone out." "Yes, and we will be up with them before night."[5] Dr. Welch seems to have joined him. He says: "Tried to pass Percy's column; stopped by bayonets. Two British officers rode up to Dr. Warren, in the rear of the British, inquiring, 'Where are the troops?' The doctor did not know; they were greatly alarmed." These were probably the commanders of Percy's baggage-train; and this incident places Warren at Cambridge as late as twelve or one o'clock of that day.

[1] Smith was sent to Coventry by his neighbors for giving this information, and was obliged, or thought he was, to embark for England a few weeks later (May 27), where he preached to a Dissenting chapel in Sidmouth for a while; but returning in 1784, he became librarian of Harvard, and later chaplain of the Boston Almshouse. See *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 190.

[2] This is his own naming of an hour which is sometimes stated rather later in the day.

[3] [A stone beside the road and opposite the church in Arlington marks the spot where the "old men" captured this train. See Vol. II. p. 382. — ED.]

[4] Who was afterward Lieut.-Governor and later Governor of the State.

[5] Another diary dates this as late as ten in the morning. [See Richard Frothingham's *Life of Joseph Warren*, p. 457, (who quotes the statements in the text from a manuscript of Dr. Welch) and his *Siege of Boston*, p. 77, for further accounts. — ED.]

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT

Of an Attack that happened on the 19th of April 1775, on his MAJESTY's Troops,

By a Number of the People of the Province of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

ON Tueſday the 18th of April, about half paſt 10 at Night, Lieutenant Colonel Smith of the 10th Regiment, embarked from the Common at Boſton, with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Troops there, and landed on the oppoſite Side, from whence he began his March towards Concord, where he was ordered to deſtroy a Magazine of Military Stores, depoſited there for the Uſe of an Army to be aſſembled, in Order to act againſt his Majeſty, and his Government. The Colonel called his Officers together, and gave Orders, that the Troops ſhould not fire, unleſs fired upon, and after marching a few Miles, detached ſix Companies of Light Infantry, under the Command of Major Pitcairn, to take Poſſeſſion of two Bridges on the other Side of Concord: Soon after they heard many Signal Guns, and the ringing of Alarm Bells repeatedly, which convinced them that the Country was riſing to oppoſe them, and that it was a preconcerted Scheme to oppoſe the King's Troops, whenever there ſhould be a favorable Opportunity for it. About 3 o'Clock the next Morning, the Troops being advanced within two Miles of Lexington, Intelligence was received that about Five Hundred Men in Arms, were aſſembled, and determined to oppoſe the King's Troops;* and on Major Pitcairn's galloping up to the Head of the advanced Companies, two Officers informed him that a Man (advanced from thoſe that were aſſembled) had preſented his Muſquet and attempted to ſhoot them, but the Piece flaſhed in the Pan. On this the Major gave directions to the Troops to move forward, but on no Account to fire, nor even to attempt it without Orders. When they arrived at the End of the Village, they obſerved about 200 armed Men, drawn up on a Green, and when the Troops came within a Hundred Yards of them, they began to file off towards ſome Stone Walls, on their right Flank. The Light Infantry obſerving this, ran after them; the Major inſtantly called to the Soldiers not to fire, but to ſurround and diſarm them; ſome of them who had jumped over a Wall, then fired four or five Shot at the Troops, wounded a Man of the 10th Regiment, and the Major's Horſe in two Places, and at the ſame Time ſeveral Shots were fired from a Meeting Houſe on the left.† Upon this, without any Order or Regularity, the Light Infantry began a ſcattered Fire, and killed ſeveral of the Country People; but were ſilenced as ſoon as the Authority of their Officers could make them.

After this, Colonel Smith marched up with the Remainder of the Detachment, and the whole Body proceeded to Concord, where they arrived about 9 o'Clock without any Thing further happening; but vaſt numbers of armed People were ſeen Aſſembling on all the Heights: while Colonel Smith with the Grenadiers, and Part of the Light Infantry remained at Concord, to ſearch for Cannon, &c. there; he detached Captain Parſons with ſix Light Companies to ſecure a Bridge at ſome Diſtance from Concord, and to proceed from thence to certain Houſes, where it was ſuppoſed there was Cannon, and Ammunition. Captain Parſons in purſuance of theſe Orders, poſted three Companies at the Bridge, and on ſome Heights near it, under the Command of Captain Laurie of the 43d Regiment; and with the Remainder went and deſtroyed ſome Cannon Wheels, Powder, and Ball; the People ſtill continued increaſing on the Heights; and in about an Hour after, a large Body of them began to move towards the Bridge, the Light Companies of the 4th and 10th then deſcended, and joined Captain Laurie, the People continued to advance in great Numbers, and fired upon the King's Troops, killed three Men, wounded four Officers, one Serjeant, and four private Men, upon which (after returning the fire) Captain Laurie and his Officers, thought it prudent to retreat towards the Main Body at Concord, and were ſoon joined by two Companies of Grenadiers. When Captain Parſons returned with the three Companies over the Bridge, they obſerved three Soldiers on the Ground one of them ſcalped, his Head much mangled, and his Ears cut off, tho' not quite dead, a Sight which ſtruck the Soldiers with Horror. Captain Parſons marched on and joined the Main Body, who were only waiting for his coming up, to march back to Boſton. Colonel Smith had executed his Orders, without Oppoſition, by deſtroying all the Military Stores he could find; both the Colonel, and Major Pitcairn, having taken all poſſible Pains to convince the Inhabitants that no Injury was intended them, and that if they opened their Doors when required, to ſearch for ſaid Stores, not the ſlighteſt Miſchief ſhould be done, neither had any of the People the leaſt Occaſion to complain, but they were ſulky, and one of them even ſtruck Major Pitcairn. Except upon Captain Laurie, at the Bridge, no Hoſtilities happened from the Affair at Lexington, until the Troops began their March back. As ſoon as the Troops had got out of the Town of Concord, they received a heavy Fire from all Sides, from Walls, Fences, Houſes, Trees, Barns, &c. which continued without Intermiſſion, till they met the firſt Brigade, with two Field Pieces, near Lexington, ordered out under the Command of Lord Percy to ſupport them; (advice having been received about 7 o'Clock next Morning, that Signals had been made, and Expreſſes gone out to alarm the Country, and that the People were riſing to attack the Troops under Colonel Smith.) Upon the Firing of the Field Pieces, the People's Fire was for a while ſilenced, but as they ſtill continued to encreaſe greatly in Numbers, they fired again as before, from all Places were they could find Cover, upon the whole Body, and continued ſo doing for the Space of Fifteen Miles: Notwithſtanding their Numbers they did not attack openly during the Whole Day, but kept under Cover on all Occaſions. The Troops were very much fatigued, the greater Part of them having been under Arms all Night, and made a March of upwards of Forty Miles before they arrived at Charleſtown, from whence they were ferryed over to Boſton.

The Troops had above Fifty killed, and many more wounded. Reports are various about the Loſs ſuſtained by the Country People, ſome make it very conſiderable, others not ſo much.

Thus this unfortunate Affair has happened through the Raſhneſs and Imprudence of a few People, who began Firing on the Troops at Lexington.

* At this Time the advanced Light Companies loaded, but the Grenadiers were not loaded when they received their firſt Fire.

† Notwithſtanding the Fire from the Meeting Houſe, Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn with the greateſt Difficulty kept the Soldiers from forcing into the Meeting Houſe and putting all thoſe in it to Death.

GAGE'S ACCOUNT OF THE NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1775.

The anxiety of Boston that day is easily imagined.[1] Gage had sent out a considerable part of his army, eighteen hundred men, from a force not four thousand. His communication with his force in the field was by no means as good as that of the Patriots. The sun had gone down when, to anxious eyes watching from Beacon Hill, the flashes of muskets on Milk Row[2] — the road from Cambridge to Charlestown — revealed the line of the retreat. Percy was now in command. He did not mean to risk an embarkation at Phips's Point, where the boats were still lying. Pickering's Essex regiment was on his flank at Winter Hill, and he chose to put Charlestown Neck between himself and pursuit.[3] He arrived there after eight o'clock. Heath, who during the afternoon had been exercising a general command, called off the Patriot forces. Percy bivouacked on Bunker Hill; and thus was the war begun.[4] The selectmen sent word to Percy that if he would not attack Charlestown they would take care that his troops should not be molested, and would do all in their power to get them over the ferry. The "Somerset" man-of-war sent her boats first for the wounded, then for the rest of the troops. The pickets of the Tenth regiment were sent from Boston to keep all quiet. The Americans put sentinels at Charlestown Neck, and made prisoner of an officer of the Sixty-fourth, who was going to join his regiment at Castle William.

From that time till the next March, what is popularly called "the siege of Boston" continued. Civil government stopped in the town. The selectmen's record ends with a typical blank: "At a meeting of the selectmen, this 19th Apl., 1775, present, Mesrs. Newhall, Austin, Marshall, ———," and this is all! The civil magistracy did no more as matter of formal record till March 5, 1776, when they appear again. Martial law came in, of which a contemporary definition says: "A provost-marshal is a man who does as he chooses; and martial law is permission to him to do so."

All the night of the battle-day minute-men were marching and riding from all parts of New England to Cambridge. Before daybreak of the

1 [The various rumors which reached Boston, during the progress of events that day, are noted in Andrews's letters. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865, p. 404. — ED.]

2 Now, alas! "Washington Street," in Somerville.

3 ["Had Earl Percy returned to Boston by the same road he marched out, . . . probably his brigade might have been cut off." So says Percy's eulogist, Major R. Donkin in his *Military Collections*: New York, 1777, p. 87. This book, which is rare, is in Harvard College Library. It is dedicated to Percy, and ostensibly published for the benefit of the families of the victims "of the bloody massacre committed on his Majesty's troops peaceably marching to and from Concord, the 19th April, 1775, begun and instigated by the Massachusetians." — ED.]

4 [In the senate-chamber at the State House are some interesting relics of Lexington, — two firelocks bequeathed to the State by Theodore Parker: one, the first firearm captured in the war; and the other carried by the testator's grandfather, Captain John Parker, on that day. See *Hist. Mag.*, July, 1860, by J. S. Loring. An official report of the selectmen of the losses to property sustained at Lexington, and made Jan. 24, 1782, is in *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii. 410. Numerous relics of the fight have been collected in the Town Hall at Lexington, and various houses are still standing there which bear marks of the fray. Statues of Hancock and Adams are also in the hall. — ED.]

John Parker

morning of the twentieth, little towns in the western part of Worcester County were awakened by the tramp of men pressing eastward, or by the rumble of the wagons which bore them. Before night a considerable army was in Cambridge. And Gage never again sent an armed man out by land from Boston, as Boston is now constituted. Indeed, no man of his other than deserters, of which there were many, after this moment set foot in Roxbury or in Brighton except as a prisoner; nor in Dorchester, excepting Dorchester Neck, which is now South Boston.

In describing the siege, we shall speak of Boston as it was then understood; meaning the peninsula. A considerable part of the American army was in Roxbury and in Brighton. These places, and Charlestown where the great battle of the siege was fought, and Dorchester Heights where the end came, are now all included within the city. But we shall speak of these places by their old names.

General Clinton, who afterward commanded the British army, was not here on the day of the battle of Lexington; but he says of Percy's movement: "He gave them every reason to suppose that he would return by the route he came, but fell back on Charlestown; thus securing his retreat unmolested, and a place which ought never to have been given up, and which cost us half the force engaged to recover."[1] This means that at North Cambridge Percy took the more direct route to Charlestown, instead of making the angle at Cambridge Common.[2] But if he had attempted to add nine miles to the march of men, many of whom had already marched thirty, he would have found at Charles River the bridge again removed, and barricades erected from the materials. He had his train of wounded in carriages which he had seized for their conveyance. In point of fact, he did not secure his retreat; for he received at Prospect Hill the hottest fire of the way. His own account is distinct: "In this manner we retired for fifteen miles, under incessant fire all around us, till we arrived at Charlestown, which road I chose to take, lest the rebels should have taken up the bridge at Cambridge (which I find was actually the case), and also as the country was more open and the road shorter."[3] Stragglers had given the alarm of their approach in Charlestown. As the tired army filed in on the Neck it met streams of people pouring out. The Regulars, no longer pursued, vented their rage in frightening women and children as they emptied their pieces. The soldiers called for drink at taverns and houses, and "encamped on a place called Bunker's Hill."[4]

When, on the night of the nineteenth and on the morning of the twentieth, wounded and dying men were brought into Boston from Charles-

[1] Clinton's MS. notes to Stedman's *History*. [This copy of Stedman is in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence. See Winsor's *Handbook*, p. 130. — ED.]

[2] [There was a story current at the time that Percy in returning from Concord had intended to stop at Cambridge and fortify, after destroying the college buildings, being reinforced across the water from Boston. See note to Mansfield's sermon in the Roxbury Camp, Nov. 23, 1775, as quoted by Thornton, *Pulpit of the Revolution*, p. 236. — ED.]

[3] Percy's MS. letter to his father, from a copy in the hands of the Rev. E. G. Porter.

[4] For the origin of this name see Vol. I. p. 390.

General Gage gives liberty to the Inhabitants to Remove out of Town with their Effects, and in order to Expedite ye Removal informs the Inhabitants that they may receive passes for that purpose from General Robinson any time after 8 o'Clock to morrow Morning

Boston April 27th 1775

GAGE'S ORDER, IN BOWDOIN'S HANDWRITING.

NOTE. — The negotiation to effect this order began in a town-meeting, April 22, when James Bowdoin presided, and ended at an adjourned meeting with an agreement to surrender their arms. The story of this covenant, and Gage's failure to keep to his word, is told in the *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 117; also see *Siege of Boston*, p. 95. Among the papers preserved in the Charity Building with the overseers of the poor, is an account of the arms returned to General Gage, April 24, 1775. Andrews writes: "You see parents that are lucky enough to procure papers [of permission to leave the town], with bundles in one hand and a string of children in the other, wandering out of town, not knowing whither they go. . . . This morning [May 6] an order from the Governor has put a stop to any more papers at any rate. . . . It is hard to stay cooped up here and fed upon salt provisions. . . . The soldiery think they have a license to plunder every one's house and store who leaves the town." Bowdoin was during much of this period too ill to take a prominent part in the active duties of the hour. Abigail Adams writes to her husband only two days before Bunker Hill: "Mr. Bowdoin and his lady are at present in the house of Mrs. Borland, and are going to Middleboro to the house of Judge Oliver. He, poor gentleman, is so low that I apprehend he is hastening to a house not made with hands; he looks like a mere skeleton, speaks faint and low, is racked with a violent cough, and I think far advanced in a consumption." — *Familiar Letters, etc.* p. 63. — ED.]

town and carried to their quarters and to hospitals, people began to see what war was. That part of the towns-people who did not favor the English began to move into the country with such stores as they could carry. Gage insisted that they should not take their arms, and made a sort of convention, which caused much discussion afterward, by which he promised to give permits for departure to all who would deliver their arms. In fact "1,778 firearms, 973 bayonets, 634 pistols, and 38 blunderbusses" were delivered. The number shows the military habit of the people. The tradition of the next generation said that they were in very poor order for use.

Gage attempted to limit the number of wagoners, who should enter daily from the country, to thirty a day. In regard to this he received sharp remonstrances from Dr. Warren,[1] who on the twenty-third began to act as chairman of the provincial committee of safety. Before long the English generals were glad to diminish the number of mouths they had to feed. Additional parties were sent out after the hot weather of summer came on. Some of them carried small-pox with them. The last was a party of three hundred poor people sent out on November 25. Many families left Boston in this emigration which have never returned. To this day, in many of the inland towns of New England, the family tradition takes in the hurried departure from Boston "when the siege began." On the other hand, some royalist families moved in from the country. There is a good deal of correspondence about Lady Frankland,—the same who saved her husband[2] at the earthquake at Lisbon, — and the quantity of live stock and furniture which she might bring into town from Hopkinton, where was her home.[3]

On the very day of the battle of Lexington a corps of Loyalists was formed in Boston. Two hundred tradesmen and merchants offered their services to Gage, and were accepted. Their corps was placed under the command of Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick, — the same who presided at Philadelphia at the first Continental Congress, ten years before. They are spoken of as "the gentlemen volunteers." It was said that Ruggles was the best soldier in the colonies, and that he would have been in high command among the Americans had he taken the right side.[4]

[1] In a letter dated the twenty-sixth or twenty-ninth, not the twentieth, as erroneously printed in Force and later writers.

[2] Oliver Cromwell's great-great grandson.

[3] "*Hopkinton, May* 15, 1775. — Lady Franklamd begs she may have her pass for Thursday. A list of things for Lady Frankland: six trunks, one chest, three beds and bedding, six wethers, two pigs, one small keg of pickled tongues, some hay, three bags of corn." The answer of the Provincial Congress is Homeric: "*Resolved*, that Lady Frankland be permitted to go to Boston with the following articles, — viz., seven trunks; all the beds with the furniture to them; all the boxes and crates; a basket of chickens, and a bag of corn; two barrels and a hamper; two horses and two chaises, and all the articles in the chaise, excepting arms and ammunition; one phaeton; some tongues, ham, and veal; and sundry small bundles." [See Vol. II. p. 526. — Ed.]

[4] [As the winter wore on, the Loyalists in Boston were formed into military organizations for guard duty and the like: the Loyal American Associators, Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles, commandant; Loyal Irish Volunteers, James Forrest, captain; Royal Fencible Americans, Colonel Gorham. — Ed.]

The Tory party gradually acquired more and more ascendancy with Gage. They were afraid that when the town was emptied of Whigs the American army would burn it. At last they threatened Gage that they would lay down their arms and leave themselves, if he permitted further departure. It was under the pressure of this threat that Gage at last gave way, and, as the Patriots said, violated the engagements he made when they delivered up their arms as already mentioned.

The time had now come, and it was the first time, when men and households had to make known, by a visible and final act, whether they stood by the court of England or by the country. Households were often divided against themselves. The following lines from one of the many comedies and tragedies of the time, — of which most of the comedies are tragic, and the tragedies comic, — expresses the situation: —

> "What wretch like me
> Sees misery in each alternative?
> Defeat is death; and even victory, ruin.
> Here my father, dearest, best of parents,
> Whose heart, exhaustless as a mountain stream,
> Pours one continued flood of kindness on me.
> There is my brother; there, too, is Rossiter,
> One of the number, — all perhaps may fall;
> Fall by each other's arm — inhuman thought!
> O madness, madness! Sure the arm of death
> O'er such a field may grow fatigued with conquest,
> Nor need new trophies to adorn his car
> With deeper deeds of honor."

Meanwhile the minute-men, who had assembled so promptly, were for some days under no central command. On the outside the Patriots were afraid Gage would march out, — as, on the inside, he probably was afraid that they would march in. Colonel Robinson, of Dorchester, who with six or seven hundred men only was watching Boston Neck in those days, spent nine days and nights without "shifting his clothes," or lying down to sleep. Without an adjutant or officer of the day, he patrolled his own lines every night, — a march of nine miles. But Gage had no thought of another "promenade." [1]

His own subordinates accuse him of inaction. Lord Percy writes to his father in May: "The rebels have lately amused themselves with burning the houses on an island just under the admiral's nose; and a schooner, with four carriage-guns and some swivels, which he sent to drive them off, unfortunately got ashore, and the rebels burned her." This was at Hog Island. Putnam led in the affair, and won in it the reputation which helped him in the assignment of commissions the next month.[2]

[1] [Thomas, a little later, deceived the British General by marching and remarching his troops along a course which could be observed by the British outposts, to give the appearance of a larger force than he had. — Ed.]

[2] [See Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 109; Sumner's *East Boston*, p. 351; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1857, p. 137; Lives of Putnam; Force's *Archives*, etc. The affair happened May 27, 1775. It was during this month that

PANORAMIC VIEW FROM BEACON HILL, 1775.

The truth is that until May 25 Gage's force was less than four thousand men. Of the columns engaged on the nineteenth he had lost two hundred and four, — one in nine, — a very large proportion. He had nothing to march out for, for the best success would be to come back again. He withdrew from Marshfield his one outlying detachment, and acted in the spirit of this despatch, which he had already sent home: —

"The Regiments are now composed of small numbers, and Irregulars will be necessary in this country, many of which, of one sort or other, I conceive may be raised here. Nothing that is said at present can palliate. Conciliating, moderation, reasoning, is over; nothing can be done but by forcible means. Tho' the people are not held in high estimation by the Troops, yet they are numerous, worked up to a Fury, and not a Boston rabble, but the Farmers and the Freeholders of the country. A check anywhere will be fatal, and the first stroke will decide a great deal. We should therefore be strong, and proceed on a good foundation before anything decisive is tried." [1]

As the summer advanced, Gage and Howe fortified the town carefully. In the Charles River they had a floating battery of six cannon; and on Fox Hill (now levelled), within the present Public Garden, at the bottom of the Common, cannon were mounted, which commanded the passes of the Neck. There was an entrenchment where the monument now stands on the Common. Upon the hill toward Cambridge, now partly levelled and known as Louisburg Square and Mount Vernon, a mortar battery played upon Cambridge. This position was considered so safe that boys and other idlers, even women, stood by the gunners to mark the shots.[2] On Copp's

Gage's boats patrolled the mouth of the Charles to give notice of "fire-stages" which the Provincials were preparing to send down to burn his ships. — ED.]

[1] MS. in English State-Papers.

[2] [The works occupied by the besieged on the Common may be more particularly described as follows; but some of them were not built till after the battle at Charlestown: —

A small zigzag earthwork, for infantry defence, opposite a point on Beacon Street, halfway between Spruce and Charles streets, then the upland margin.

A small redoubt on Fox Hill, as in the text.

An earthwork where Charles and Boylston streets now meet, — then at the marsh-edge, — probably for infantry defence.

A long redoubt, occupying the space between Pleasant Street, on its curve, and the water, and commanding a wharf, which was just south of the spot where now the Emancipation Group stands.

Crowning the bluff above the marsh, and at the point of the present junction of Boylston and Carver streets, there was a bastioned redoubt; and another of a square shape on the hill where the monument now stands, some light breastworks being thrown up between them on the edge of the marsh.

These were the provisions which the British General had made to resist any attempt by Washington to attack with boats. They are shown in Page's map, as are also the earthworks along the ridge to the north of Beacon Street. First, an oblong redoubt on the summit, back of the State House, which is shown in the panoramic view given in this chapter, in heliotype. Second, a redoubt facing the Common, not far from the junction of Walnut and Chestnut streets. Third, a larger redoubt, crossing Chestnut Street near Spruce and Willow, facing the water. Fourth, an open breastwork by the shore, between Pinckney and Mount Vernon Streets, just above Charles. Up to Christmas, notwithstanding the severe cannonade which the British had often maintained, only twelve persons had been killed in Roxbury, and seven on the Cambridge side.

The accompanying heliotype shows the four sections of a water-color panoramic view from Beacon Hill, thus inscribed: —

"A view of the country round Boston, taken from Beacon hill, shewing the lines, Intrenchments, Redouts, etc. of the Rebels; also the

Hill, at the North End, was a battery of six pieces of cannon, which commanded the river and Charlestown shore. There were two *flèches* where Blackstone Square and Franklin Square are, from each of which a piece of artillery commanded the road.[1] Nor could there now be a better memorial of the war than to restore them in those pretty grounds, and mount there two old cannon from the many trophies of the war. Nearer Boston more extensive works protected the Neck; and near Dover Street was a gateway and other defences, of which the only memorial now is in the name of Fort Avenue, — an insignificant alley-way.[2]

On May 8, on an alarm that Gage was going to march out, the minutemen from the towns around Boston rallied at command, and the British General could see what he would meet if he needed any lesson. On the thirteenth, General Putnam marched a little army of two thousand three hundred men through Charlestown to the ferry and back, "which very much astonished them." The affair at Hog Island, already referred to, was one of several raids, following an order of the provincial executive that all live stock should be removed from the islands. And in two only of these affairs Gage lost two thousand sheep, "from under the admiral's nose," as Percy says. He little foresaw how much he would be needing fresh provisions.[3] Before a year was over, his government was shipping from England to Boston living oxen, pigs, and sheep to feed the army, only one cargo of which

Lines and Redouts of his Majesties Troops. N. B. — These views were taken by Lt Williams of the R. W. Fuziliers,* and copied from a Scetch of the original drawn by Lt Woodd of the same Regiment. The original drawings are now in the possession of the King."

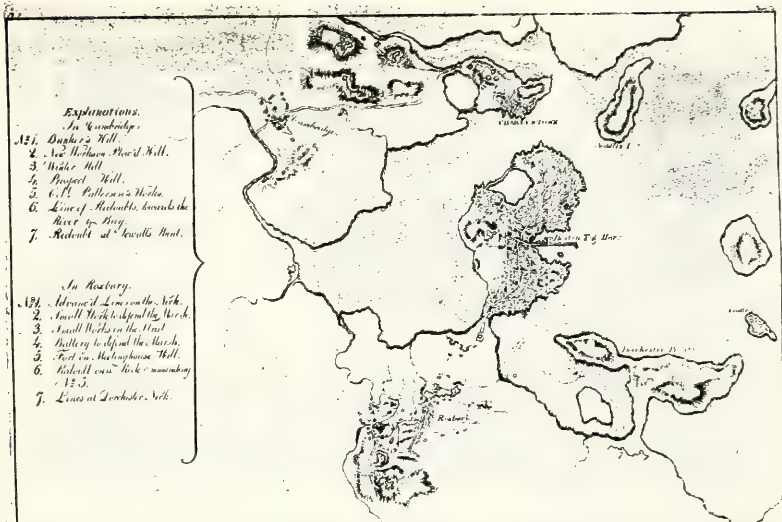
Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, of Brooklyn, who gave this view to the Historical Society, in December, 1859, says he purchased it of Charles Welford, about 1858. Mr. Brevoort says, in a letter to the Editor: "It was the custom to send from the foreign and plantation office all that might be of interest to the map-makers, and I suppose that it found its way there among such matter."—Ed.] Faden was the King's engraver. At a sale of his effects about forty years since, many such maps and drawings came to light. A collection of one hundred, once belonging to Nathan Hale, is now in the Congressional Library at Washington.

* The Welsh Fusiliers were one of the most famous regiments in the garrison. Donkin, in his *Military Collections*, p. 133, tells of the "privilegeous honor" enjoyed by them "of passing in review preceded by a Goat with gilded horns;" and on March 1 (St. David's Day), in Boston, in 1775, "the animal gave such a spring from the floor that he dropped his rider upon the table" of the banqueting officers, "and then, bouncing over their heads, ran to the barracks with all his trappings, to the no small joy of the garrison and populace."

1 [Brown's house, which figures largely in the accounts, stood on the westerly side of Washington Street, a little south of Blackstone Square; and was occupied by the British as an advanced post, when Majors Tupper and Crane, with a party of volunteers, attacked it, July 8, and, driving off the occupants, burned the buildings. — Ed.]

2 MS. notes of Hon. James T. Austin. [In March, 1860, workmen in digging for a drain opposite Williams Market laid bare a considerable section of the foundations of the old defences. The plan of the Neck lines by Mifflin, and of the Peninsula, by Trumbull, which are shown in the accompanying heliotype, are described with other plans in the Introduction to the present volume. The views of the British lines on the Neck, looking out and in, given also in heliotype in this chapter, follow some engraved representations published to accompany a series of coast charts by DesBarres. — Ed.]

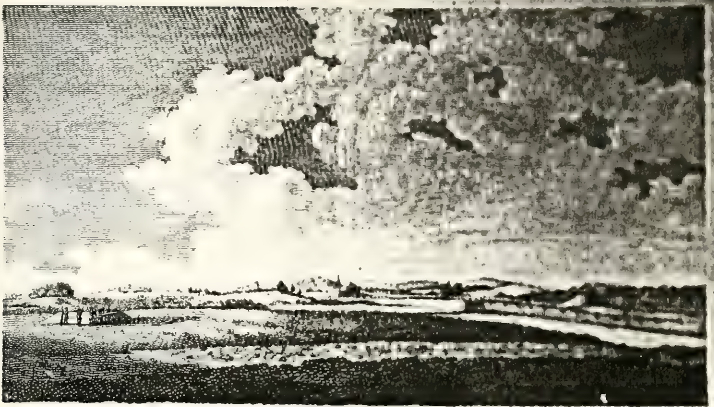
3 Gage in his despatches was always blaming Graves, the admiral, who was at length removed before the end of the year. In King George's note to North, ordering the removal, he said he thought the admiral's removal as necessary as that of "the mild general," — his name for Gage.



Boston, & the surrounding Country, & Posts of the American Troops.

COL. TRUMBULL'S PLAN, 1775.

MIFFLIN'S PLAN OF THE BRITISH FORTIFICATIONS ON BOSTON NECK.



A View of the Country towards Dorchester, taken from the advanced works on Boston Neck.

A Front View of the Lines taken from the advanced Post near Brown's House.

ever arrived. "The English channel is white with sheep which have been thrown overboard," says a contemporary account.

The narratives of the time show the exuberant enthusiasm of recruits, to whom war is a novelty. A party at Noddle's Island captured a barge be-

Boston the 7th of May 1775.
Saml Graves

longing to a man-of-war. They carried it to Cambridge in triumph; and on June 5 took it to Roxbury in a cart, with the sails up and three men in it. "It was marched round the meeting-house while the engineer fired the cannon for joy." On the next day Generals Thomas and Heath went to lay out a place at Dorchester Point, with a view to entrenchments.

Through these sixty days, between the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, there appear to have been occasional passages in and out of the town; but care was in all cases taken that no military or other stores should pass. On May 25 Gage received large reinforcements. The Government also sent him three generals,—Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne,[1] who all came in the "Cerberus." The wags called them the three "bow-wows." Gage was now better fitted for aggressive movements. On June 12, he issued his celebrated proclamation, greatly ridiculed at the time, in which he offered pardon to all but Samuel Adams and John Hancock.

W Howe

H Clinton

Of course he saw the importance of securing Dorchester Heights and Charlestown, quite as distinctly as did the Patriot leaders. Burgoyne says that it was agreed that they should land at the Point and occupy Dorchester Heights on Sunday, June 18. Before that time the American troops had more than once been called out by alarms in this direction. The provincial executive were apprised of this plan, and in consequence selected the night of June 16, to fortify Bunker

J Burgoyne

[1] [There is a contemporary engraving of Burgoyne in the *Political Magazine*, December, 1780. — Ed.]

Hill on the northern side of the harbor. At their order General Ward sent a detachment from Cambridge, which reached Bunker Hill about ten at night. It consisted of Prescott's, Frye's, and Bridge's regiments, under Colonel Prescott,[1] and a party of Connecticut men under Captain Knowlton. It was a moonlight night, and clear. On the top of Bunker Hill they were only a mile from the English battery on Copp's Hill. Prescott called the field-officers together and showed them his orders. At that late moment they were in doubt whether to fortify the summit where they were, or to proceed less than half a mile nearer Boston to Breed's Farm, where the hill fell off suddenly toward the south, and where they could better annoy the English shipping, and more readily command the town. The consultation took much time, but at last the bolder course was adopted, under pressure of Gridley,[2] the engineer officer, who said he must work somewhere. The determination is now justified by the highest military authority.[3] Had

[1] [Here is a token of preparation:—

"MAJOR BARBER,—Please to deliver to Captain Densmore 350 rounds and 30 flints.

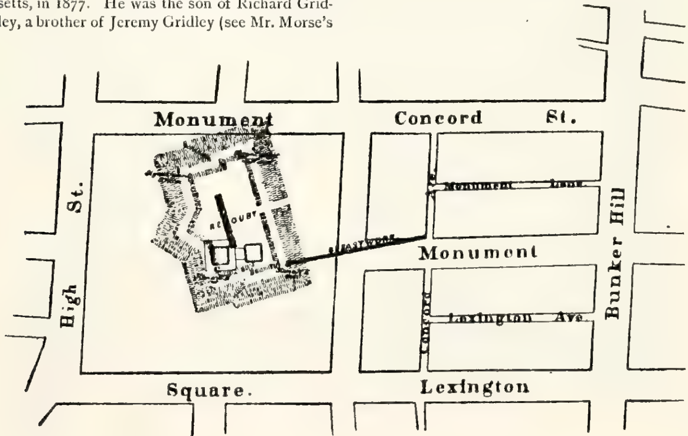
"WM. PRESCOTT, COL ll

"June 16, 1775."

The original is in Mellen Chamberlain's manuscript collection. The tradition is that the lead pipes of Christ Church, Cambridge, were melted or pounded into slugs at this time.—ED.]

[2] [The best account of Richard Gridley, of Louisburg fame, is contained in an oration by D. T. V. Huntoon delivered at Canton, Massachusetts, in 1877. He was the son of Richard Gridley, a brother of Jeremy Gridley (see Mr. Morse's chapter on the "Bench and Bar" in Vol. IV.), and was born Jan. 3, 1710-11. Gridley played a distinguished part at Louisburg, and in the later campaigns against the French. He had removed from Boston to Canton about 1773.—ED.]

[3] [Various contemporary maps of the battle are noted in the Introduction to this volume. The annexed plan indicates the position of the redoubt and the breastwork in relation to the present Monument Square and the monument, following a plan given by T. W. Davis in the *Bunker Hill Monument Asso. Proc.* 1875.—ED.]



the higher hill only been fortified, the English troops, to attack it, could have been formed without molestation under cover of the lower hill. Short-time shells, such as would now be dropped on such a party, were not then used.

Fairly at work on Breed's farm, Gridley laid out his redoubt skilfully. It measured eight rods on the longest side, which fronted Charlestown; the other sides were shorter. A breastwork ran about a hundred yards toward the north, to a marshy spot which was relied on as a sufficient check against troops. From midnight till eleven o'clock in the morning the men worked steadily, and the intrenching-tools were then sent back to Putnam, who persevered through the day in the true military policy of fortifying the upper summit also. Once and again through the night men went down to the water's edge, and could hear the "All's well" of the watch on the English vessels. It was after daybreak when Linzee, the commander of the "Falcon" which lay in the stream, opened his fire on it, and waked the sleeping town.[1] Gridley returned Linzee's fire from his wretched field-pieces. Gage soon ordered Linzee to cease firing, and, having conferred with his associates, determined to attack the works before they should be strengthened.[2] With a bold resolution, — of which there is more than one instance among British commanders in the beginning of wars, — Gage made the fatal decision, in spite of Clinton's remonstrance, to attack these works in front.[3] With his naval force, by which he could have commanded Charlestown Neck, he could, perhaps, have cut off the American party without the loss of a man.

[1] Captain Linzee was the grandfather of the wife of William H. Prescott the historian, who was the grandson of Colonel Prescott. The two swords worn by these two officers on that morning were bequeathed by Mr. Prescott to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and have long been peacefully crossed in its Library, as they were earlier in his. [They are represented in the frontispiece of this volume. See Ticknor's *Life of W. H. Prescott*, and Dr. William Prescott's *Prescott Memorial*, 1870. — Ed.]

[2] [Colonel Prescott, observing Gage's disposition, despatched Major John Brooks to headquarters for reinforcements, and he reached General Ward about ten o'clock.

There is a portrait of Governor Brooks, with a sketch of his life, in Drake's *Cincinnati Society*. See also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* July, 1865. Ed.]

[3] [Gage having overruled the decision of a majority of his council to attack in the rear, and bound to hazard an attack in front, which he deemed more military and prudent, issued the order, a *fac-simile* of which may be found on the next page. This *fac-simile* follows the entry in an orderly book, preserved in the cabinet of the Mass. Historical Society, entitled *Lieutenant and Adjutant Waller's orderly-book, commencing at Boston, the 22d May, and ending the twenty-sixth day of January*, 1776; a folio parchment-bound MS. which really begins "Plymouth [England], March 25, 1775, on board the 'Betsy' transport," with "rules and directions to be observed on board the transport for Boston." Then follow "General Gage's and Major Pitcairn's orders, Boston Camp." A new section begins: "June 18 [1775]. Charles Town Hill, Gen[l] Howe's orders;" and the next day the following: "General orders, Head Quarters, Boston, June 19, 1775. The Commander-in-chief returns his most grateful thanks to Major Gen[l]. Howe for the extraordinary exertion of his military abilities on the 17th inst. He returns his thanks also to Maj.-Gen. Clinton and Brig.-Gen. Pigot for the share they took in the success of the day; as well as to Lieut.-Cols. Nisbet, Abercrombie, Gunning, and Clark; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Tupper, Spendlove, Smelt, and Mitchel; and the rest of the officers and soldiers who, by remarkable ef-

General Howe was entrusted with the enterprise. With two thousand men he crossed at noon to Moulton's Point, embraced within the present Navy Yard.[1] As soon as the boats could cross a second time, General Pigot, his second in command, moved slowly to the left, throwing out strong flanking parties upon the redoubt. Up to this time his men had been under the cover of the bold hill at Moulton's Point. While Howe waited for his second party, he had reconnoitred the position so far as to

forts of courage and gallantry, overcame every disadvantage and drove the rebels from their redoubt and strong-hold on the Heights of Charles Town and gained a complete victory." The same

Genl. Morning Orders June 17. 10 o'Clock.
The Companies of the 35 & 49 Regt that are Arrived, to Land as soon as the Transports Can get to the Wharf, And to Encamp on the Ground, Mark'd out for them on the Common, Captain Handfield is appointed to Act As an Assistant to the Deputy Qr Master General And is to be Obey'd as such, The Ten Oldest Companies of Grenadiers, and the Ten Oldest Companies of Light Infy Exclusive of the Regiments Lately Landed, the 5. & 38 Regt to parade at ½ past 11 o'Clock with their Arms Ammunition Blanketts and the provision Order'd to be Cook'd this Morning, they will March by Files to the Long Wharf the 52 Regt & 43. with the Remaining Companies of Grenadiers & Light Infy to parade at the same time with the same Directions and March to the North-Battery — the 47. and 1st Battn Marines will Also March as above directed to the same Battery after the rest are Embark'd, and be ready to Embark there — when Order'd, the rest of the Troops will be kept in readiness to March at A Moments Warning 1 Sub. 1 Serj. 1 Corpl. 1 Drumr and 20 private to be left by Each Corps for the Security of their respective Camps. — Any Man who shall quit his Ranks on any pretence, or shall dare to Plunder or pillage will be Executed without Mercy

day a general order read: "A return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the different Corps in the late action of the 17th to be given in as soon as possible. The officers to be mentioned nomanly [? nominally] in these returns." The orderly-books of Generals Gage and Howe are preserved among the Carleton papers in the Royal Institution in London; and extracts from them, made in 1840, are in the Sparks MSS., vol. xlv. — ED.]

[1] [The lower ship-house marks the beach where these troops left their boats. The reinforcements landed in front of the present marine barracks. The "Falcon" ship of war covered the landing at the points; and the "Lively," of twenty guns and one hundred and thirty men, was anchored in front of the present Navy Yard, and covered the landings of the reinforcements. Many of the slain were buried within the dockyard enclosure. — ED.]

see that it might be possible to move along the shore of the Mystic River, and thus attack the American entrenchments on the rear. From the marshy point already spoken of, northward to the river, the only line of defence was what has long been popularly called the "rail-fence," erected by Knowlton and his men, who had been sent out by Prescott to cover his left flank. They had protected themselves, in farmer fashion, by putting up a line of rail-fence parallel with one already standing, and packing the space between with new-mown hay. Howe's contempt for this unmilitary breastwork cost him dear in the end. So soon as he was reinforced he moved westward with his right wing along the river-side, while Pigot, with the left wing, attempted the breastwork and redoubt.

All along the American lines the order had been given which the officers remembered in the memoirs of Frederick's wars: "Wait till you can see the whites of their eyes."[1] They were bidden, in the redoubt, to hold their fire till the English came within eight rods. Pigot's men advanced slowly, firing as they marched. Their shot passed over the heads of the Americans. It must be remembered that most of the Englishmen were as new to battle as their enemies. Some eager soldiers in the American lines were disposed to reply; but their officers even ran along the parapet and kicked up their guns. Prescott told those who could hear him, that the "red-coats" would never reach the redoubt if they would obey him. Sure enough, when the order to fire came, the issue was terrible. For a few minutes the fire was returned, but for only a few. Pigot was obliged to order a retreat. "He was staggered," says an English account at the time, "and retreated by orders." Some of his men ran even to the landing. Burgoyne's letter, written for publication,[2] also says "he was staggered;" and reinforcements were sent to him.

Howe's fate with the right wing was similar; but probably his companies suffered more severely. They could not advance by any road, and were obliged to climb the rail-fences which parted the fields, or to break them down. Knowlton and Putnam were begging and commanding their men not to fire. A single shot, intended to draw the enemy's fire, obtained its end. Howe's companies fired like troops on parade, and fired too high. When the word was given to the Connecticut men, the well aimed shots from the rail-fence made terrible havoc; the English wavered, broke, and retreated. Many of the exultant American soldiers leaped over the fence to follow them, and had to be held back by their officers.

Prescott praised and encouraged his men. Putnam rode back to Charlestown Neck to urge on reinforcements. Men had been sent from Cam-

[1] Prince Charles, when he cut through the Austrian army, in retiring from Jägendorf, gave this order to his infantry: "Silent, till you see the whites of their eyes." This was on May 22, 1745; and this order, so successful that day, was remembered twelve years after at the battle of Prague, when the general Prussian order was, "By push of bayonets; no firing till you see the whites of their eyes."

[2] Addressed to Lord Stanley.

June 17: 1775 Major Barber adt. for
Train leave 100 rounds of ammunition
Ward Colonel

Joseph Ward
A. D. C.

ON THE FIELD.[1]

bridge, who dared not cross the Neck, raked as it was by the fire of English vessels in the river.[2] At Howe's command, meanwhile, Burgoyne, who was in the English battery on Copp's Hill,[3] set fire to Charlestown with red-hot shot.[4] Howe probably supposed that the houses were cover for American soldiers. But, in fact, Prescott had few if any men to spare outside of his works.

Howe re-formed his broken lines after some pause; sent to Boston for proper balls for his field-pieces;[5] and, under the smoke and fire of

[1] [This bit of writing represents, perhaps, the only relic like it of the battle-field. It was seemingly written hastily, with whatever might serve for a pen, on a slip of paper torn from the margin of a book, and was not long ago found among some loose papers at the State House. Joseph Ward was of Newton, was made an aid by General Heath on the day following Lexington, and at this time was aid to General Ward; and so distinguished himself at Bunker Hill that when his conduct was subsequently reported to Washington, he gave him a pair of pistols, which are now owned by Mr. D. Ward. A portrait of him is in the possession of R. R. Bishop; and a miniature by Dunkelery, 1789, is owned by Mrs. Osgood of Cohasset. (Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 349.) He continued to be General Ward's aid when this General commanded later in Boston, and his signatures to official documents, written under less exciting circumstances, indicate a good penman. Dr. Smith in his *Hist. of Newton*, p. 343, says that Ward was, in 1775, a master in one of the Boston schools, and, seeing the troops in motion on April 19, left the town for Newton, where he got a gun and hastened to Concord. On June 17 he "rode over Charlestown Neck, through a cross-fire of the enemy's batteries, to execute an order for General Ward." — Ed.]

[2] [Gage was afterward blamed for not putting his gun-boats on the Mystic also. — Ed.]

[3] [The defence on Copp's Hill, at the time of the battle, was an earthwork made in part of barrels filled with sand, and mounted six heavy guns and howitzers. — Ed.]

[4] [Dr. John C. Warren owns a small oil-painting which is supposed to represent the burning of the town. An officer is directing an incendiary. Women are flying with affright. The story usually goes that some men landed from the war-ships to assist in starting the conflagration. The painting is thought to resemble Trumbull's style. Dr. H. J. Bigelow found it many years ago, labelled as a Trumbull and called "The Burning of Charlestown," in a dealer's shop in Boston, and gave it to Dr. J. Mason Warren. — Ed.]

[5] But never got them. The master of ordnance was "making love to the school-master's daughter." The guns were served with grape.

the burning town, moved to the attack a second time. The result in both attacks was the same as before. Colonel Prescott thought it even more destructive than at first. The officers remonstrated; even goaded the men with their swords. The dead in some cases lay within a few yards of the works. Putnam said: "I never saw such carnage." Howe, who had promised his men to march at their head, held his promise. He bore a charmed life. Three times he was left alone. In the several attacks made by his column, one company of the Fifty-second lost every man as killed or wounded. The English broke so completely that the fugitives filled the boats. For a considerable time no further attack was made. Many of the American officers thought the day was their own; but the regiments ordered from Cambridge, to reinforce them, did not arrive. After the battle several officers were tried for cowardice on account of their slowness in bringing relief at this time. Howe sent for reinforcements. Four hundred marines, under Small, were sent to him; and with them came General Clinton. But for this help he would have lost the battle.[1]

Howe now, for the first time, bade his men lay aside their knapsacks, move in columns, and trust to the bayonets. More important was the discovery which he had made, with a soldier's eye, that the north end of the breastwork was uncovered, and his resolution to advance his field-pieces far enough to rake it. He made this his object now, only demonstrating against the terrible fence on the American left, without approaching it; and, with these skilful dispositions, moved forward on both attacks for the third time. They were wholly successful. Howe himself led the attack on the breastwork. Prescott recognized him, and was soldier enough to know it would succeed; but he held and encouraged his men. Few of them had three rounds of powder left, but he instructed them to hold their fire till the British were within twenty yards. This they did, and the enemy faltered under the volley,[2] but reached the ramparts and were sheltered by them. Pitcairn, commanding the marines, was here mortally wounded. As, man by man, the Englishmen struggled over the redoubt,[3] Howe's artillery swept the breastwork which ran from it. His

[1] [Dr. John Jeffries crossed with the reinforcements of four hundred men that Gage sent over. See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1861, p. 15. — ED.]

John Jeffries

[2] [General Greene, writing from the Roxbury Camp the next day (June 18), speaks of the repulse the third time, and adds a bit of camp gossip: "It is thought they would have gone off, but some of the Provincials imprudently called out to their officers that their powder was gone. The Regulars heard it, turned about, charged their bayonets, and forced the entrenchments." — ED.]

[3] Lord Rawdon, who was one of them, and was afterward popularly and probably incorrectly said to have carried the colors, was afterward Earl of Moira, governor of India from 1812 to 1818, and a favorite of George IV.

[The reader is referred to the frontispiece for what is considered a contemporary view of the battle, as seen from Beacon Hill. The original sketch is in the possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York, and was first brought to the attention of the public in *Harper's Monthly*, in 1875.

The designer for the cut followed a careful

leading companies soon passed round its northern end. Prescott, to avoid being shut in, gave the order to retreat. Most of his men had fired every round of powder.

The retreating men passed between two successful English columns, which hardly dared fire, however, as their own friends were mingled with their enemies. Yet Warren was killed at this juncture, Gridley wounded, as was Bridge, also, for the second time.

The rail-fence, where Stark commanded, had not been attacked seriously. The men here held their ground, and covered the retreat of their

tracing of it which was kindly lent by Mr. Benson J. Lossing.

The spectator is supposed to be on Beacon Hill, one hundred and thirty-eight feet above the sea, and the higher hill, Bunker Hill, beyond which the white smoke rises, is one hundred and ten feet high, and a little less than a mile and a half distant. Breed's Hill, where the redoubt is, is sixty-two feet above the sea. The two summits were one hundred and thirty rods apart.

Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, p. 121, gives a profile view of the Charlestown peninsula at this time, copied from a contemporary drawing. It is reproduced by Lossing in his *Field-Book*, and in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, iii. 377. The *Pennsylvania Magazine*, September, 1775, has a folding "very elegant engraving of the late battle at Charlestown, June 17, 1775," as the title-page describes it. Barnard's *New Complete and Authentic History of England* has a "view of the attack on Bunker's Hill, with the burning of Charlestown, June 17, 1775;" drawn by Mr. Millar; engraved by Lodge (11½ × 8 inches). There is a view of the hill-top, with the monument erected on Bunker Hill by the Freemasons to the memory of Warren in 1794, in the *Analectic Magazine*, March, 1818; and it is reproduced in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1875, p. 65. A view of the monument only is given in Snow's *History of Boston*, p 309; and one is also given in the frontispiece of the present volume. Other early views of the battle are described in Winsor's *Readers' Handbook of the American Revolution*, p 58. — ED.]

AFTER THE BATTLE.

The annexed cut is from the same source. The redoubt is seen on the top of the hill; and of the broken fences a British account says: "These posts and rails were too strong for the columns to push down, and the march was so retarded by getting over them, that the next morning they were found studded with bullets, not a hand's breadth from each other."

These sketches were taken for Lord Rawdon, then on Gage's staff, and remained in the possession of his descendants till the dispersion of the late Marquis of Hastings's library, when they were bought by Dr. Emmet.

less successful comrades. They were withdrawn in regular order, after the fugitives from the redoubt passed them. At the summit of Bunker Hill, Putnam attempted to rally the army behind the works he had been building. He stood by a cannon till the bayonets were almost upon him; but the retreat could not be checked, and the English troops in triumph took possession of the hill about five o'clock in the afternoon.

John Stark

Clinton advised Howe to push on to Cambridge. Ward, on his part, dreaded such an attack; but Howe satisfied himself with turning two field-pieces on the retiring enemy.

Prescott was mad with disappointment. He reported to Ward, and told him that with three fresh regiments, with bayonets and powder, he would take the hill again; but Ward was only too well pleased if he were left without attack.[1] Ward knew, what he would not tell to any man even to save his reputation, that he had in store that day only sixty-nine hundred pounds of powder, — not half a pound for every soldier in his command.

It was hardly an hour and a half between the first attack and the victorious capture of the summit of Bunker Hill. In that period the attacking force had lost two hundred and twenty-four killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. If, as Gage said, he had about two thousand men in the attack, this would have been a loss of more than one half the force; but in fact his full force was somewhat larger than this. Of the killed and wounded, one hundred and fifty-seven were officers. The American loss was one hundred and fifty killed, two hundred and seventy wounded, and thirty taken prisoners.[2]

The impression then made on Howe and Clinton governed them through the war. They never again led troops against intrenched men. It will be found thus that this first battle, in the terrible lesson it taught, was really the battle decisive of the seven years which followed.[3] We now know that the English officers thought their privates misbehaved. It is certain that in many instances they ran, — even to their boats. But when one reads that every man was killed or wounded in one company, he does not ask many questions as to the courage of the survivors. Burgoyne says in a private letter to Lord Rochford: "All the wounds of the officers were not received

[1] [The apprehension that the result of the battle would instigate Gage to send a force to disperse the Provincial Congress, is shown by an order passed at Watertown, June 18, directing the secretary to look after the records and papers of that body, and to have a horse ready "for that purpose in any emergency." (*Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii. p. 159.) "It is expected they will come out over the Neck to-night, and a dreadful battle must ensue." — Abigail Adams to John Adams, June 18, 1775. — Ed.]

[2] ["Our prisoners were brought over to the Long Wharf, and there lay all night, without any care of their wounds, or any resting place but the pavements, until the next day, when they exchanged it for the jail, since which we hear they are civilly treated." — Abigail Adams to John Adams, July 5, 1775. The Congress at Watertown, June 27, 1775, requested General Thomas "to supply our wounded friends in Boston, prisoners, with fresh meat, in case he can convey it to them and to them only." — *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii. p. 174. — Ed.]

[3] [Creasy, *Decisive Battles of the World*, gives Saratoga that pre-eminence; but Washington at once recognized the importance of Bunker Hill.

from the enemy;" but he begs that this shall not pass, even in a whisper, to any but the king.

All that night and all the next day, carts, wagons, and chaises, bearing wounded men, were passing from the wharves to hospitals, barracks, and lodging-houses. The tradition of the next generation told ghastly stories of blood trickling on the pavement from the wagons which bore wounded men.

A hot summer followed upon this battle-day, which was the hottest of all. Washington, on July 3, beneath the now historic elm, took the command of the American army, and made his headquarters for a few days in the house belonging to the president of the college; he then moved them to the famous mansion now the home of Longfellow. The blockade by land became closer than ever. Privateers audaciously cut off vessels approaching with stores.[1] While few of those events passed which work their way into general history, or even light up historical novels, the diaries and letters of the time show that there was not a week without its subject for excitement or, at least, conversation.[2]

On July 12, Major Greaton, of Roxbury, burned the hay which the English had made on Long Island. On the twentieth, Major Vose of Heath's regiment dismantled and burned the light-house, and made a raid on Point Shirley. Another party, under Major Tupper, afterward drove off the force which tried to rebuild it.[3] On July 11, Lee, in Cambridge, began a correspondence with Burgoyne; the first in a series of flirtations with old loves, which ripened into treason. Desertions from Gage's army, which on October 10 became Howe's, were not frequent. Howe says that they lost

[1] [Washington early commissioned (October, 1775) John Manly as captain, who sailing from Marblehead in the schooner "Lee," in November, 1775, captured military stores, which soon were in the Cambridge Camp. Washington had not long before written to Congress that the "fortunate capture of an ordnance ship would give new life to the camp." Manly died in 1793, in his house at the North End. There

John Manley

is a portrait of him in Preble's *History of the Flag*. — ED.] The earliest commission to privateers is dated September 2.

[2] "They carry off cattle under the guns of the fleet." — *Earl Percy to his father.*

[3] [The light-house, at this time standing at the harbor's entrance, was the original structure of 1716, modified somewhat by repairs in 1757, when it had been injured by fire. It became, early in the siege, an object of concern for both sides; and more than one expedition, conducted by the Provincials, destroyed the destructible parts of it. Washington, in general orders, Aug. 1, 1775, thanked Major Tupper and his men "for gallant and soldier-like behavior in possessing themselves of the enemy's posts at the light-house."

Details of various exploits in the harbor will be found in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 110; *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 142; Pattee's *History of Braintree and Quincy*. In the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii., are various statements of depredations of the Regulars upon stock and other property upon the islands. Such a schedule of property thus lost, by Joshua Henshaw of Boston, is at p. 415 of that volume. Major John Phillips, who was commander of the Castle from 1759, had surrendered the charge on Hutchinson's order, which in the summer of 1770 took it from the care of the Province and placed it in the keeping of the troops. The same officer was later made fort-major of the fortress. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1872, p. 207. After the evacuation, Sept. 1, 1776, Lieut.-Colonel Revere was directed by General Heath to take command of Castle Island. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. — ED.]

but thirty-three men by desertion through the seven months after April 19. Of every one of these desertions the American accounts give some detail. Each deserter had his romance with which to gild his reception. One of them, in July, said that Gage had but nine hundred men well enough to be under arms.[1]

A private note from Putnam to Moncrieffe, an old fellow-soldier, accompanies a present of fresh meat, which Moncrieffe loyally sent to the hospitals. Before August was over, Gage was glad to renew the treaty for sending out the poor civilians from Boston; and he and Howe sent out several parties after this time. It will be remembered, however, that Boston was still a town of gardens, and that the people were not unused to providing their own summer vegetables from their own land. Gage made the admiral send marauding expeditions up and down the coast for sheep and other provisions; but even a raid of a thousand sheep went but little way in feeding twenty thousand hungry people.[2]

Dr. Andrew Eliot, who remained in town, in a letter of July 31, thanks his parishioner, Daniel Parker, for two quarters of fresh mutton which he had sent from Salem. He distributed broth from it to thirty or forty sick people. The writer of these lines, at this late day, expresses the thanks of his great-great-grandmother for her share. At an auction sale of oxen and sheep, picked up on the coast by the marauding navy, cattle brought from fifteen to thirty-four pounds, and sheep thirty shillings and upwards. To the Patriots these prices seemed enormous. As early as July the English had begun to kill their milch cows, and the beef was sold at forty or fifty cents the pound. In the winter a camp-follower named Winifred McOwen received one hundred lashes for killing the town bull and selling the beef.[3]

So soon as the Government received Gage's account of Bunker Hill he was recalled. It was under the pretence that he was to be sent back in the next spring; but really he was disgraced, and he was never appointed to command again.[4] Howe took the command. He and Gage had both recommended that Boston should be abandoned and New York taken instead. Lord Dartmouth, for the Government, expressed the same idea as

[1] [We have no estimate of the desertions from the American camp, but the British orderly-book notes their occurrence. This from Adjutant Waller's: —

"8 July, 1775. The advanced sentries not to suffer those of the rebels during the night to come forward from their day posts; if they see them advance, they must call and order them to return to their former station, which if they disobey, the sentries are immediately to inform the corporal of the guard of their having come forward; but they are not to fire unless they see occasion in their own defence, or to alarm the guard. The advanced guards and sentries are to fire on any of the rebels they perceive endeavoring to prevent deserters coming in."

Lists of deserters from Massachusetts regiments for the later period, 1777–80, are in *Mass. Revolutionary Rolls*, ix. But these men did not, like the English, pass over to the enemy. — ED.]

[2] "And what have you got, by all your designing,
But a town, without dinner, to sit down and dine in?" — *Ballad of the Time.*

[3] [Forage became scarce by midsummer in 1775. We find in Waller's orderly-book: —

"19 July, 1775. The officers of the army are desired to send their horses to grass at Charlestown, as they cannot at present be supplied with forage."

Major Donkin, in his *Military Collections*, p. 113, says: "Cæsar, in the African war, fed his cavalry with sea-wrack, or jingle, washed well in fresh water. This might have been a good substitute for hay at Boston, which was very scarce in 1775." — ED.]

[4] [Gage sailed for England, Oct. 10, 1775. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1876, p. 316. General W.

early as September. When Howe was afterward asked why he did not then abandon Boston, he said he had no transports; but he had as many in October as he had in the next March, when the evacuation came.[1]

A census, taken by Gage's order in July, showed a civilian population of 6,573. The army was then 13,500 strong. The privates were a wretched set. The sternest discipline did not keep them in order. Irish in large numbers, Scotch, German, and English were cooped up together. Thefts, robberies, and nameless insults were daily perpetrated. As early as the sixth of June, Waller's orderly-book contains this order: "The commanding officer [Percy] observes such profligacy and dissipation and want of subordination, that he orders a roll to be called four times a day." In a week, — "he is sorry to take notice that the tents and camp furniture are in the most shameful and filthy condition." Drunkenness and licentiousness were not checked by such punishments as eight hundred and a thousand lashes, inflicted by order of courts-martial. Five hundred lashes were very frequent. Indeed, the cat was in use daily. Winifred McOwen, the woman spoken of above as killing the bull, was sentenced to receive her hundred lashes on the bare back, in the most public places of the town.

The civilian population was steadily decreasing by death, and the occasional parties sent out by the English generals.[2] On September 27 news came of a change of the admiral, and of more reinforcements. In October, so anxious was the dread of attack, that for several nights the army was held in readiness to resist it. As winter came on, many houses before exempted were seized for barracks. As late as November 9, some of the regiments were under canvas. On November 19 a ship arrived with fowls, sheep, etc., probably the only arrival of the large stores of this kind shipped from England. Late in November, Manly, in an American privateer, took the "Nancy," an ordnance ship, with large stores of ammunition. Howe wrote home that now the rebels had the means to burn the town he was afraid they would do so, and the contemporary correspondence is full of proposals "to smoke out the pirates."

The "pirates" made themselves as comfortable as they could. Some of the old historical buildings were burned for firewood, — Winthrop's house, alas! among them, and no one, in a hundred and fifty years, had made a picture of it. Some of the grenadiers were quartered in the West Church. Two regiments of infantry were in Brattle Street meeting-house,[3] and in

H. Sumner married a niece of Gage, and came into possession of an original portrait of him, which he had engraved for his *History of East Boston*, and bequeathed to the State. It is now in the State Library. — ED.]

[1] [Howe kept up an occasional cannonading; but he made no threatening movement for a month, till, November 9, he sent a raiding party to Lechmere point to steal cattle, which failed of its purpose. Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, i. 166. — ED.]

[2] [Howe issued a proclamation, October 28, 1775, forbidding specie, beyond five pounds, to be carried out of Boston by any one departing. — ED.]

[3] [It is but a few years since this old landmark disappeared, which

> "Wore on its bosom, as a bride might do,
> The iron breastpin which the rebels threw,"

as Holmes phrases it. The ball, thrown from the Cambridge shore, hit the front and fell to the pavement, and was subsequently picked up and lodged in the place where it struck. A model

the sugar-house adjoining it. "The pillars saved" the church from being a riding school, as the record says with reference to the "Pillar of fire." The Old South meeting-house was used for a riding school by the Seventeenth Dragoons. The officers still had their horses, and they got up sleighing parties within the narrow limits of the town, as winter closed in.[1] The king's birthday was celebrated with enthusiasm. Even Patriots still pretended that it was the ministry they were fighting, and drank the health of the king, who was really their most bigoted enemy. The Patriot gentlemen made a point of maintaining the most sedulous outward courtesy to the officers of their king. Faneuil Hall was at first used as a storehouse for furniture and other property; but it was cleaned out for a theatre when General Burgoyne, and his friends among the officers, needed it for that purpose. In September they performed *Zara*, a tragedy translated from Voltaire, and not yet wholly forgotten, thanks to Miss Edgeworth's *Helen*. Burgoyne wrote the prologue and epilogue. The female parts were taken by Boston young ladies, whose names have not come down to us. The play was repeated several times, the profits being devoted to the widows and children of the soldiers. Burgoyne has the credit of writing another play, *The Blockade of Boston*, which was performed after he had sailed for home. It was on January 8, when this play was in full progress, and an actor ridiculing General Washington was on the stage, that a sergeant rushed in, crying: "The Yankees are attacking the works on Bunker Hill." This seemed a part of the play, till the highest officer present, an aide-de-camp,[2] ordered, "Officers to their posts!" The play was at an end. Major Knowlton, who had commanded at the rail-fence on the day of the battle, had renewed his visit to Bunker Hill, burned a bakehouse and some other buildings, and carried off several prisoners.[3] The Patriot ladies, who had refused to go to the play, made merry over the misadventures of their less squeamish sisters, who had to come home, frightened, without their gallant escorts.

General Sullivan had attempted this raid the week before, but had been disappointed because the ice was not strong enough to bear his men. The mildness of the winter caused constant annoyance to Washington, who was now provided with ammunition, and was eager to cross the ice on the Back Bay and attack the town. He had insulted it by floating batteries once or twice, but with no serious attack.[4] Why Howe, fairly crowded as he was, had never renewed his own plan for taking Dorchester Heights, does not appear; but in February, 1776, he writes to Lord Dartmouth:[5] —

of the old meeting-house, showing the ball in place, is now in the gallery of the Historical Society. — ED.]

[1] Hon. J. T. Austin's MS. notes.

[2] Not General Howe, as an exaggerated tradition has it.

[3] [See contemporary accounts given in Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, i. 193, 199. — ED.]

[4] [Abigail Adams writes, Oct. 21, 1775: "A floating battery of ours went out two nights ago, and moved near the town, and then discharged their guns. Some of the balls went into the Workhouse; some through the tents in the Common; and one through the sign of the Lamb Tavern." — ED.]

[5] MS. despatch, preserved in the state-paper office, London.

"It being ascertained that the enemy intended to take possession of Dorchester Height or Neck, a detachment was ordered from Castle William on the 13th of February under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Leslie, and another of grenadiers and light infantry commanded by Major Musgrave, with directions to pass on ice, and destroy every house and every kind of cover on that peninsula, — which was executed, and six of the enemy's guard taken prisoners."

From this despatch it appears that the ice had at last formed, for which Washington had been waiting. He at once called a council of war, and urged an assault on the town by crossing over the ice from Cambridge and Roxbury; but his field-officers generally were unfavorable to the enterprise, much to Washington's disgust and hardly concealed indignation, and he therefore reluctantly abandoned it. In its place he made immediate dispositions to seize Dorchester Heights and to take Noddle's Island, now known as East Boston. He asked the government of Massachusetts to call out the militia of the neighborhood. This was done, and ten regiments were called in. Washington himself says: "These men came in at the appointed time, and manifested the greatest alertness and determined resolution to act like men engaged in the cause of freedom."

Preparations were at once made by General Ward, at Roxbury, in collecting fascines, and what in the military language of that day were called "chandeliers," a kind of foundation for the fascines, with which were to be built the works on Dorchester Heights. The ground was supposed to be frozen too hard for entrenching. On Saturday, Sunday, and Monday nights, March 2, 3, and 4, 1776, a cannonading was kept up from Cobble Hill, Lechmere's Point, and Lamb's Dam in Roxbury, to divert the attention of the English troops and drown the noise of carts crossing the frozen ground. As soon as the firing began on Monday evening, General Thomas moved from Roxbury to South Boston with twelve hundred men. To deaden the noise of the wagons the men strewed the road with straw, and wound wisps about the wheels. Before morning they had thrown up formidable works. The English of the fleet and of the army were entirely surprised when that morning broke, for a dense fog had favored the Americans at their work. On Tuesday evening, intending to storm the newly built works, Howe sent down three thousand men under Percy to the Castle, to attack on that side; but while his troops were embarking from the island a violent storm came up, which lasted till eight o'clock the next day and wholly broke up the design. Before night of the sixth, evacuation was determined on. Percy's letter to his father, of that date, says: "It is determined to evacuate this town. I believe Halifax is to be our destination." He then knew, and Howe had determined, that the works on Dorchester Heights were not to be stormed. "An officer of distinction," in Almon's *Remembrancer* at the same date, says: "We are evacuating the town with the utmost expedition, and are leaving behind half our worldly goods. Adieu! I hope to embark in a few hours."

From hour to hour, however, Thomas was strengthening his works, which

GENERAL HENRY KNOX.[1]

were now much stronger and better provided than were Prescott's works at Bunker Hill. Knox's Ticonderoga cannon were likely to be in good service.

[1] [A likeness of Knox is prefixed to the *Life* of him by Samuel A. Drake. A photogravure of what is called the panel likeness of Knox, by Stuart, is given in Mason's *Stuart*, p. 211. The Knox papers, left to the New England Historic Genealogical Society by the late Admiral Thatcher, grandson of the general, are now arranged in fifty-five folio volumes, to which an index is preparing. A brief account of the papers (11,464 in all), prepared by the Rev. E. F. Slafter, has been printed by the society.

Knox played an important part in the siege by conducting the expedition from Cambridge to Ticonderoga to get some of the cannon which had fallen into Ethan Allen's and Arnold's hands by the capture of that post, and which Washington needed to put in his batteries, and which were opportunely at hand when the heights at Dorchester Neck were to be fortified. Knox's diary of this expedition is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. An inventory of the cannon, made Dec. 10, 1775, is given in Drake's

Had the attack been made, Washington relied upon Thomas to hold the Heights, and he would himself have assaulted Boston on the western side as soon as the English troops were engaged at South Boston. He had, at the mouth of the Charles River, two divisions of troops in readiness, numbering four thousand men, under the command of Greene and of Sullivan. Greene's division was to have landed near where the Massachusetts General Hospital grounds now are, and Sullivan's further south at the powder house, and to seize the hill on the Common. If they were successful, these divisions were to unite, march upon the English works at the Neck, and let in the troops from Roxbury. Three floating batteries were to clear the way in advance for their landing.

Washington thought well of this enterprise, and the troops would have certainly been well led; but it will never be known how far this attack of four thousand men, who were to row two miles and land under fire from the English batteries, would have succeeded.

It was only twelve months after Warren's last address in the Old South. Washington, in his general orders, alludes to the anniversary of the Massacre.[1] But as the English did not attack on their side, the American attack did not take place. Thomas kept on strengthening his works. Washington regarded this fortification as only preliminary to taking Nook's Hill. This hill was the extreme northwest part of South Boston, and commanded the south end of Boston proper. It is now wholly dug away.[2]

The details were made for the occupation of this lesser hill on the night of the ninth. It was, so to speak, the Breed's Hill of Dorchester, — the eminence nearer to the town. But on the eighth Howe sent out a flag of truce, with a letter signed by John Scollay, Timothy Newell, Thomas Marshall, and Samuel Austin, the selectmen of the town. It was addressed to nobody, for Howe had made a point that these gentlemen should not address "His Excellency George Washington," as they wished to do. The letter stated officially that Howe had assured them that he was making his preparations to withdraw, and that he would not injure the town unless he was molested in withdrawing. Washington would not answer. Colonel Learned, who received the paper, sent back a message that Washington would take no notice of it; that it was an unauthenticated paper, not obligatory upon General Howe. This was all the communication which passed; but it was enough. The Patriots were only too glad to have the "pyrates"

Cincinnati Society, p. 544. See also Drake's *Life of Knox*, p. 175; his *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 154; Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 295. After the war Knox became a resident, for a time, of Boston, and occupied the Copley house on Beacon Hill. The mansion which he built, later, at Thomaston, Me., is figured in *Scribner's Monthly*, ix. 616. A brother of General Knox (Thomas Knox) was the first keeper of Boston Light, when it was rebuilt after the war. Carter's *Summer Cruise*, p. 24. — ED.]

[1] [While this fortifying was going on at Dorchester Neck, a scene of solemnity, not unmixed with ludicrous associations, took place at Watertown. A meeting of the citizens of Boston had been legally warned to listen there to an anniversary oration on the Massacre. The Rev. Peter Thacher delivered it, and the audience of supposable Bostonians applauded it. — ED.]

[2] [It is shown on Pelham's map, of which a heliotype is given in the Introduction to this volume, — there called "Foster's Hill." — ED.]

embark; and nothing would have justified any loss of life or of property in hurrying them.[1] On the 7th Manly took two more provision ships in the bay, and carried them into the harbor of Cape Ann. On Saturday night, the 9th, a ball from the English killed Dr. Dole and three men who had made a fire on Nook's Hill. Sunday and Monday the bombardment continued. On the next Sunday morning, the 17th, Howe, with his whole army, sailed in seventy-eight vessels. The total number of officers and men, on his returns, was eight thousand nine hundred and six. The refugees who accompanied him were nine hundred and twenty-four more, who registered their names at Halifax, and some two hundred who made no registry there. In more than one case, after the fleet had come out into the bay, a sea-sick Tory's wife begged her husband to put back; and, by this chance, her family landed on the shore of Massachusetts, to be progenitors of sturdy Republicans, and not, as might have been, of Nova Scotians, loyal to Victoria.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM HOWE,

MAJOR GENERAL, &c. &c. &c.

AS Linnen and Woolen Goods are Articles much wanted by the Rebels, and would aid and aſſiſt them in their Rebellion, the Commander in Chief expects that all good Subjects will uſe their utmoſt Endeavors to have all ſuch Articles convey'd from this Place: Any who have not Opportunity to convey their Goods under their own Care, may deliver them on Board the Minerva at Hubbard's Wharf, to *Crean Bruſh*, Eſq; mark'd with their Names, who will give a Certificate of the Delivery, and will oblige himſelf to return them to the Owners, all unavoidable Accidents accepted.

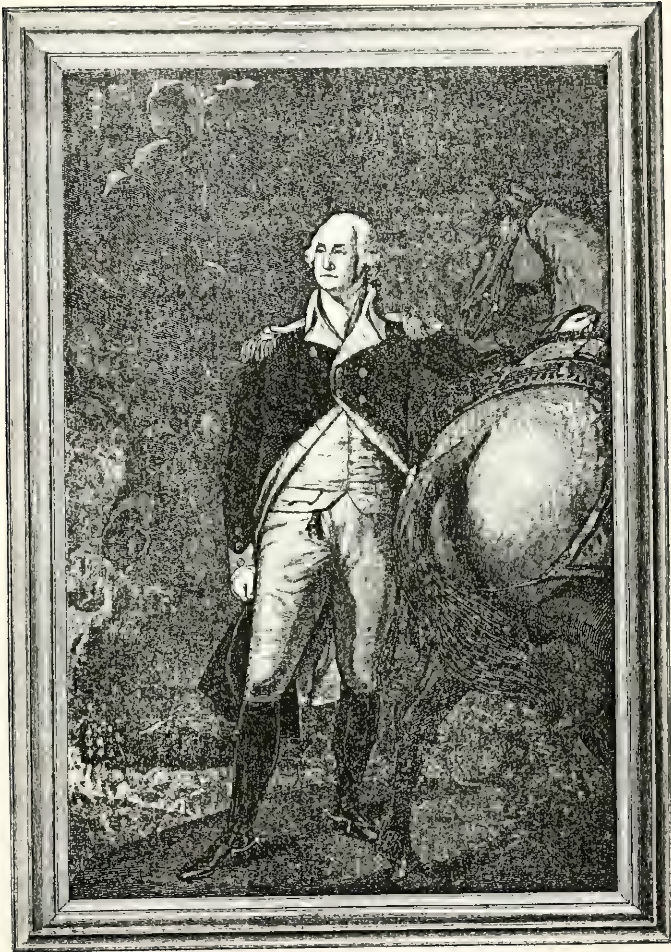
If after this Notice any Perſon ſecretes or keeps in his Poſſeſſion ſuch Articles, he will be treated as a Favourer of Rebels.

Boſton, March 10th. 1776.

HOWE'S PROCLAMATION.[2]

[1] "Last Friday," writes Major Judah Alden to his father, "the selectmen of Boston sent out a letter to General Washington, to desire him not to molest General Howe when he quit the town, as they had assurance from him that he would leave the town standing, and all private property. By their [the enemy's] motions, it looks as if they were determined to quit. They have loaded every vessel in the harbor, but what their design is we do not know. It is generally thought that they are not determined to go, but to make us think so until they can get reinforcements. We are making all preparations against them that we possibly can, and keep a better lookout than usual. General Washington's answer to the selectmen of Boston was, as there was nothing binding from General Howe, he should pay no regard to his promises to them."

[2] [This is a reduced *fac-simile* of an original broadside in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, and indicates the measures in preparation for the evacuation. Crean Brush was an Irishman who had gained notoriety in New York politics. Under cover of this proclamation, he broke open stores and dwellings, and conveyed the plunder to the "Minerva." He was captured on board his vessel after the evacuation, and lodged in Boston jail, where, in 1777, he was joined by his wife; and, in a disguise which her garments furnished, he escaped, Nov. 5, 1777, and fled to New York. See the *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 164. — ED.]



WASHINGTON AT DORCHESTER HEIGHTS.[1]

[1] [This portrait of "Washington at Dorchester Heights," as it is called, was painted by Stuart in nine days, in 1806, following the so-called Athenæum head, which was depicted twenty years later than the event it is here made to commemorate. The story of this larger picture, told in Mason's *Stuart*, p. 103, is as follows: Winstanley, the painter, brought to Boston a copy which he had made in London of the Lansdowne likeness of Washington, painted just before the Athenæum head. Mr Samuel Parkman advanced the copyist some money on this canvas, which, not being redeemed, was offered by him to the town for its acceptance. At the meeting when this offer was made, a blacksmith objected to the town's receiving a copy after Stuart, when

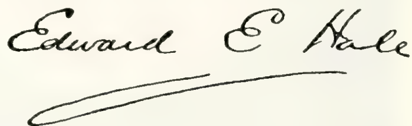
the artist lived among them and could give an original. This seemed a pertinent objection, and Mr. Parkman commissioned Stuart to paint the larger picture, which was then accepted by the town, and remained for many years in Faneuil Hall. It is now in the Art Museum. Before painting it, Stuart worked out the design on a smaller canvas,—or it is so claimed; and a "small full-length," given by Stuart to Isaac P. Davis, and now owned by Mr. Ignatius Sargent, of Brookline, is called this sketch. Mason's *Stuart*, p. 105. — Ed.]

[1] [The annexed *fac-simile* is of a pen-and-ink sketch made by Kosciusko at Valley Forge in 1777. Alden was born in Duxbury, Oct. 3, 1750; was ensign in Cotton's regiment in 1775; lieutenant in Bailey's in 1776; later, captain and brevetted major, after service throughout the war. Francis S. Drake's *Memorials of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts*, p. 210, of which Major Alden was president from 1829 till his death, in 1845. He was with his regiment at Roxbury during the siege.

After the news came of the defeat of Montgomery at Quebec, Colonel Learned, accompanied by Alden, was sent to the British lines with a flag of truce. Alden at another time accompanied Colonel Tupper, under orders from Gen-

The siege was ended; and Congress, March 25, 1776, ordered and had struck a beautiful gold medal as a gift to Washington. It bears the mottoes: "Hostibus primo Fugatis," and "Bostonium Recuperatum." [1]

General Artemas Ward commanded the right wing of the American army, and directed the work of fortifying Dorchester Heights. General John Thomas carried out his orders with such resource and promptness as made the work the wonder of the time. And yet to-day, if you should ask ten Boston men, "Who was Artemas Ward?" nine would say he was an amusing showman. If you asked, "Who was John Thomas?" nine would say he was a flunky commemorated by Thackeray. On the site of the fortification — ordered by Washington, directed by Ward, and built by Thomas — is a memorial-stone which bears, not their names, but that of the mayor of Boston who erected it. Such is fame! [2]

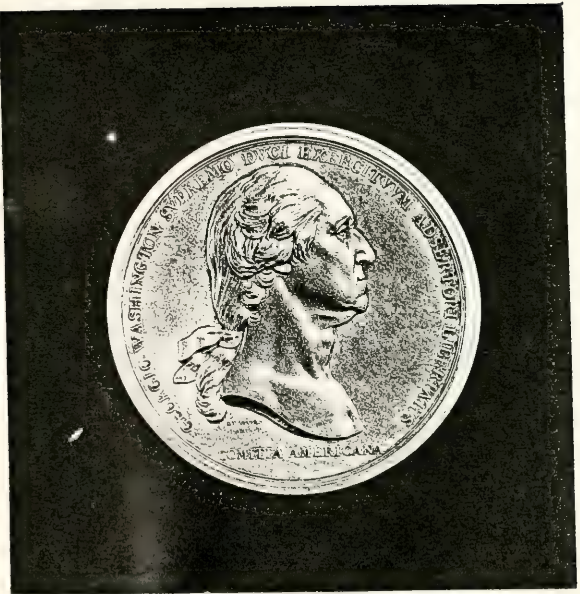


eral Thomas, in whale-boats, to dislodge some British who had seized an island in Quincy Bay. The enemy fled on their approach. There are particulars about the Grape Island affair, and the general alarm along the southern shores of the harbor, in *The Familiar Letters of John and Abigail Adams*. — Ed.]

[1] [A heliotype *fac-simile* is given herewith. Washington's reply to the letter of presentation is given in *fac-simile* in Force's *American Archives*, fourth series, v. 977. The die, made in France, is still preserved, and coppers struck with it are not uncommon; but impressions taken since it has been repaired can be distinguished by one less leg of the horses being discernible, and by other marks. See Loubat's *Medallic History of the United States*, and Snowden's *Medals of Washington;* and particularly the description by Mr. William S. Appleton in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1874, p. 289. The original gold medal had come down through the descendants of Washington's elder brother; and, after having been buried, to escape capture during the late civil war, in the cellar of an old mansion in the Shenandoah Valley, a representative of the family sold it in the spring of 1876 to fifty gentlemen of Boston, headed by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who presented it, during the Centennial ceremonies of March 17 of that year, to the city, to be preserved in the Public Library, where, with all the papers of attestation, it now is. See *Public Library Report* of that year; the *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 25, where a steel outline-engraving of it is given, from the plate used in Sparks's *Washington;* and *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1876, p. 230. The heliotype here given is from an early silver copy, belonging to Dr. Samuel A. Green.

There were eleven different medals struck in Paris, between 1776 and 1786, commemorative of events of the Revolution, and by order of Congress. The French Government, acting, it is said, under the prompting of Lafayette, presented the entire series, in silver, to Washington, and the collection is known as "the Washington medals;" and the same finally coming into the hands of Daniel Webster, passed, after Webster's decease, to the Hon. Peter Harvey, who presented them to the Massachusetts Historical Society, where they now are. See the *Proceedings*, April, 1874. — Ed.] "Bostonium" in later Latin has given way to "Bostonia." The caricatures of the times speak of the people as "Bostoneers."

[2] The admirable Centennial Address of Dr. Ellis, and its full appendix, give very full memoranda of the details of the siege and its results. [It may be worth while to note the subsequent careers of the leading British generals. Gage, after his return to England, became inconspicuous, and died April 2, 1787. Howe's subsequent career further south only gained for him criticism and inquiry, till he returned to England in 1777 (where he died in 1814); to be succeeded by Clinton, who held the command till 1782, when he in turn returned to England, and died in 1795. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga led to his detention in Boston and Cambridge, from which he also returned to England, to enter Parliament and advise a cessation of hostilities, dying finally in 1792. *Siege of Boston*, p. 334. — Ed.]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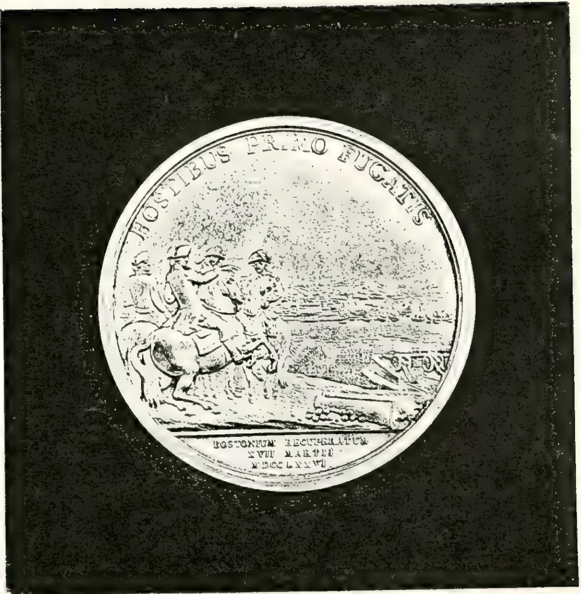
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MDCCLXXVI

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

PAUL REVERE'S LANTERNS. — The story of the lanterns has of late years attracted a good deal of attention. Richard Devens, the friend with whom it is claimed Paul Revere had agreed upon this method of notice, made record of it some time after in some minutes, which were not brought to light till Mr. Frothingham printed them in 1849 (*Siege of Boston*, p. 57). The Devens memorandum is also given in Wheildon's *Revere's Signal Lanterns*, p. 13, who discredits it and disputes some of Frothingham's statements. In 1798, a letter from Revere to Dr. Belknap, detailing the events just before Lexington, was printed in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v.; it may possibly have been written a few, but probably not many, years earlier. It has since been reprinted more accurately in the same society's *Proceedings*, November, 1878, p. 371, from Revere's own manuscript, preserved in its cabinet. The story entered into all the histories; but first acquired wide popularity when Mr. Longfellow, in 1863, made it one of his *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, — departing, however, in his spirited verse, somewhat from the historical record, since Revere did not watch for the lanterns, and never reached Concord. Meanwhile no particular discrimination had been made in the printed accounts as to the edifice from which the lights were displayed. Both Devens and Revere had called it the North Church. Dr. Eaton, in his *Historical Discourse of Christ Church*, had made no mention of the story in 1824 as associated with that church; and though a tradition remained to fix upon that building the place of the signal's display, it was not publicly bruited till 1873, when the Rev. Dr. Henry Burroughs, its rector, in an historical discourse, claimed the connection of the incident with this church, and that Robert Newman, who was then its sexton, was the one who hung out the lanterns at Revere's instigation. Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 214, about the same time also gave the incident to Christ Church. A movement next on the part of the city authorities to commemorate the warning, by an inscription on this church, led to a protest, dated Dec. 28, 1876, from Richard Frothingham, *The Alarm on the Night of April 18, 1775*, in which he showed, as indeed Devens's account makes clear, that other warnings had been given before the lanterns were hung out, and which they only confirmed. Mr. Frothingham also claimed that the old North Meeting-house in North Square was the true place of their display, — a building which had been pulled down for fuel during the siege. This position was controverted by the Rev. John Lee Watson in a letter in the *Daily Advertiser*, July 20, 1876, which was subsequently printed, with comments by Charles Deane, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, November, 1876; and separately, with a later letter dated March, 1879, in *Paul Revere's Signals*, New York, 1880. In these, both writer and commentator show conclusively that Christ Church was known popularly as the North Church, and they contend that it was from its spire the lights were shown. Mr. Watson also contends that the "friend" of Revere was a Boston merchant, Mr. John Pulling, a warden of the church; and that it was he who carried out Revere's plan. Mr. W. W. Wheildon, in his *Paul Revere's Signal Lanterns*, 1878, on the other hand, reiterates the claims of Newman, and, as well as Drake, — *Middlesex County*, p. 117, and *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 214, — supports the Christ Church view.

The present appearance of Christ Church is shown in Vol. II. p. 509. A tablet was placed on its front Oct. 17, 1878, with this inscription: "The signal lanterns of Paul Revere displayed in the steeple of this Church, April 18, 1775, warned the country of the march of the British troops to Lexington and Concord." The original spire was overthrown in the great gale of 1804, but a new one, built by Charles Bulfinch, preserved the proportions of the old one; this, however, has been somewhat changed by the placing of the clock, as will be seen by comparing the cut in Shaw's *Description of Boston*, p. 257. Mr. H. W. Holland's *William Dawes and his Ride with Paul Revere*, Boston, 1878, sets forth the particular services, at the same time, of Dawes.

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD. — Percy wrote a private letter the day after the fight, dated Boston, April 20, 1775, in which he says, speaking of his march: "I advanced to a town about twelve miles distant from Boston, before I could get the least intelligence, as all the houses were

shut up, and not the least appearance of an inhabitant to be seen." Then, speaking of his reaching Lexington, and training his cannon upon the Provincials, to gain "time for the grenadiers and light companies to form and retire in order," he says he "stopped the rebels for a little time, who dispersed directly and endeavored to surround us, for they were in great numbers, the whole country having been collected for above twenty miles round." "When the retreat began," he adds, "I ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to move off, covering them with my brigade, and detaching strong flanking parties, — which was absolutely necessary, as the whole country we had to retire through was covered with stone walls, and extended a very hilly strong country." He reports that they had "expended almost every cartridge" when they reached Charlestown, and had lost "65 killed, 157 wounded, and 21 missing, beside one officer killed, 15 wounded, and two wounded and taken prisoners. . . . This, however, was nothing like the number of which, from many circumstances, I have reason to believe were killed of the rebels." Of his adversaries he says: "Whoever looks upon them merely as an irregular mob will find himself much mistaken. They have men among them who know very well what they are about, having been employed as rangers against the Indians and Acadians; and this country, being much covered with wood and hilly, is very advantageous for their method of fighting. Nor are several of their men void of a spirit of enthusiasm, as we experienced yesterday; for many of them concealed themselves in houses, and advanced within ten yards to fire at me and other officers, though they were morally certain of being put to death. . . . You may depend upon it that as the rebels have now had time to prepare, they are determined to go through with it; nor will the insurrection here turn out so despicable as it is perhaps imagined at home. For my part I never believed, I confess, that they would have attacked the King's troops, or have had the perseverance I found in them yesterday." These extracts are from a *fac-simile* of the letter kindly lent by the Rev. E. G. Porter, of Lexington, supplied to him by the Duke of Northumberland, the grand-nephew of the Earl. The letter is more interesting than Percy's official report to Gage of the same date, which is printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1876, p. 349.

The late Hon. Charles Hudson furnished to the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, January, 1880, p. 315, a paper on Pitcairn, whose name, because of his alleged beginning of the contest at Lexington, has been usually shrouded with obloquy; but he is said to have been a fair-minded officer, much esteemed by all. (Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, No. 17.) The first shot, whether fired by Pitcairn or not, seems to have been from a pistol, — perhaps accidentally, — not with any execution so far as appears; but it was soon followed by a few muskets, and then by a volley of the British vanguard. Pitcairn and his officers aver that the first shot came from the Provincials. (See Stiles's Diary, quoted in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 62; and Irving's *Washington*.) The Provincials, scores of them, report that it came from the Regulars. Neither side intended to fire first, and it is not easy to determine to whose door what was probably an accidental discharge is to be laid. There has been some discussion as to the person who first shed British blood. (*Magazine of American History*, April, 1880, p. 308.) At all events, it may be worth while in passing to note that these "embattled farmers" stood where the parallel lines are marked on the annexed plan of the triangular Lexington Green; which also shows where Percy planted his cannon to keep the Provincials at bay, while Smith's retiring force sought shelter in the opened ranks

of Percy's detachment. The royal side professed not to look upon the affair as we are accustomed to now-a-days. "Each side is ready to swear the other fired first," says a letter of the time, describing the after effects in Boston. "The country-people call this a victory, and the retreat of the troops a precipitate flight. They don't consider that when the King's troops had effected what they went for, they had only

to come home again." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1873, p. 57.

Major Pitcairn, a few weeks later at Bunker Hill, fell back into his son's arms as he was scaling the redoubt, shot by a negro, — Peter Salem. (See George Livermore's "Historical Research" in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, August, 1862, p. 176.) He was brought over the ferry to Mr. Stoddard's, near the landing, and here bled to death. His remains were placed under Christ Church; and the story goes that when, some years after, they were sought to be sent to his relatives in England, another body, through the difficulties of identification, was sent instead. Drake's *Landmarks*, p 217.

The reader must seek detailed accounts of this eventful day in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, and in the smaller monographs and incidental accounts, of which full enumeration is given in Winsor's *Readers' Handbook of the Revolution*, pp. 26–33; and in J. L. Whitney's *Literature of the Nineteenth April*, 1775. Gage's public statement is given in the *fac-simile* of his "Circumstantial Account" in the present chapter, which is not, by the way, accurately nor wholly reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii.; nor in *The Cambridge of* 1776, p. 103. Percy's account and Smith's report are in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1876; and Smith's is also in Mahon's *England*, vi. app.; and in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1876, p. 350. It is interesting to compare the account given in the *Memoir and Letters of Captain W. G. Evelyn*, Oxford, 1879, pp. 53, 121.

The Provincial Congress, on its side, issued a *Narrative of the Incursions*, etc., — which was printed in its journal, also separately by Isaiah Thomas, and often since, — and took numerous depositions of participants in the fight, the principal men, like Colonel Barrett, deposing separate-

James Barrett

ly, — the originals of which, or those sent to England, are preserved in the libraries of Harvard College and the University of Virginia. They have been often printed. These, with other papers, were entrusted to Richard Derby, of Salem, and he despatched Captain John Derby with them on a swift vessel, so that the provincial accounts of the day's work reached London and the Government eleven days in advance of Gage's despatches. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1858; *Siege of Boston*, p. 86. What are called the Lexington alarm rolls, or the lists of minute-men who turned out as the news spread, are contained in *Massachusetts Revolutionary Rolls*, xi.–xvi., with indexes.

R. Derby

THE LITERATURE OF BUNKER HILL. — This is voluminous, and is set forth on different plans in Winsor's *Readers' Handbook of the American Revolution*, pp. 35–59; and in J. F. Hunnewell's *Bibliography of Charlestown and Bunker Hill*, pp. 13–29. It is enough to mention here, of the more extended accounts, that in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, Dawson's in an extra number of the *Historical Magazine*, June, 1868, and that of Dr. George E. Ellis. Colonel Prescott wrote a brief and unsatisfactory account in the following August, addressed to John Adams, which is printed by Frothingham and Dawson; and his son, Judge Prescott, wrote a narrative, which represents presumably the views of Prescott, and which Frothingham printed in his centennial account of the battle, and in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1875. Two contemporary accounts are preserved from eye-witnesses on opposing sides, and from opposite points of view. Burgoyne saw the battle from Copp's Hill and described it in a letter to Lord Stanley, which is printed in Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* and in other places. The Rev. Peter Thacher, of Malden, saw it from the farther side of the Mystic, and wrote an ac-

Malden May 25th. 1775 —
Peter Thacher

count which is preserved in the American Antiquarian Society's Library, and is printed by Dawson. This was the basis of the narrative set forth by the Provincial Congress, which is printed by Frothingham and others. Gage's official report was printed in Almon's *Remembrancer*.

The earliest anniversary oration was Josiah Bartlett's, in 1794, which was printed the next year in Boston by B. Edes.

The bibliographical history of a somewhat needless controversy, which at one time was mixed with political recriminations, as to the command in a battle which was too unexpected and unorganized for any individual and regular management of the whole extent of it, is traced in Winsor's *Handbook*, p. 48. There can be no question of Prescott's military superiority at the redoubt; all else was supplementary, contingent certainly, but mainly independent, though a par-

tial concert of action obtained throughout the day, rather by mutual apprehension of the necessities of the case than by fixed direction.

In the parade at the time of laying the corner-stone of the monument in 1825 one hundred and ninety Revolutionary soldiers appeared; and of these, forty professed to have been in the battle. Under the fervor of the hour, some of these were appealed to to revive their recollections, and a mass of depositions were taken by William Sullivan and others; but those instrumental in procuring them soon became satisfied that such "old men's tales" drew more on the imagination than was fit for historical evidence. Colonel Swett, however, used them to some degree in the additions which he made to his account of the battle. These papers, in 1842, were for a while in the hands of a committee of the Historical Society, who saw no reason to value them differently; and being returned to the Sullivan family, it is supposed that they were destroyed. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 224-231.) Some papers, presumably of the same character, were offered at auction in New York in 1877; but without finding a purchaser. There is an amusing account of one of the so-called veterans of Bunker Hill in No. 1 of the "Recollections of American Society," in *Scribner's Monthly*, January, 1881, p. 420. Numerous papers relating to individual losses at Bunker Hill are in *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxix.; and papers relating to the official return of the damage done by the burning of Charlestown, communicated to the Governor Jan. 11, 1783, are in *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii. 393. So late as 1834 memorials were presented to the Legislature, asking satisfaction for losses suffered on June 17, 1775. See *House Document* of that year, No. 55.

THE AMERICAN LINES. — These can be traced in Pelham's *Boston and Vicinity*, and Trumbull's *Boston and the Surrounding Country;* both of which are given in reduced fac-simile in this volume, and are noted in the Introduction, together with various eclectic maps of a later day, useful in fixing the localities.

There were four points of attack which the besieging force guarded against: first, by Charlestown Neck, where the left wing, under Lee, would have to bear the brunt of the onset; second, by boats across the Back Bay, where the British would have to effect a landing in the face of the centre under Putnam; third, by a sortie from the Neck lines toward Roxbury; fourth, by Dorchester Neck, where, by landing on that peninsula, the enemy might attempt to turn the extreme right of the right wing. This part of the lines, both at Roxbury and Dorchester, was held by the right wing, which was commanded by Ward after Washington took the general command.

The fortified positions and associated landmarks along this line of circumvallation may perhaps be traced with interest.

Going out over Charlestown Neck the road forked at the Common, just west of the narrowest part. The right hand fork came soon to Ploughed Hill, the modern Mount Benedict; and it was here that the Americans took an advanced post August 26, bringing them within range of the British guns on Bunker Hill. It was an act intended to invite an attack, which was, however, declined. General Sullivan fortified it under a heavy fire, and pushed out his picket line till it confronted the enemy's within ear-shot; and the place became the scene of much sharpshooting, chiefly conducted by Morgan's Virginia riflemen, who had reached the camp during the summer. There were redoubts also at Ten Hills Farm, which Sullivan had erected to protect his post at Ploughed Hill from assault on the Mystic side; and some traces of them are still left.

Jno Sullivan

Dan Morgan

Winter hill 9 July 1775
Recd of Ezekl Cheever Esqr Eight plank
142 feet for platforms on winter hill
pr Thos Learned

The road by Ploughed Hill led on to Winter Hill, which was fortified immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill, and garrisoned chiefly by New Hampshire troops. The main defence was on the summit, where the road to Medford now diverges. Much of the proficiency of Sullivan's camp was due to his brigade-major, Alexander Scammell. (See *Historical Magazine*, September,

Alexd Scammell

1870.) A good deal of the military spirit of the camp was derived from a veteran of the French

Jno. Nixon

wars, John Nixon, who had been very busy on the Lexington day, been wounded at Bunker Hill,

Camp Prospect Hill Sepr 15th 1775

Nathanael Greene Brigadier General

and was made a brigadier in August. Henry Dearborn and John Brooks, both later known in Boston history, were also officers of this camp.

From this Winter Hill fort, one road leading to Medford passed the old Royall mansion, where Lee and Sullivan each at one time made their quarters, and where Stark held his command. The story of the famous old mansion is told in Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, ch. vi. About equally distant on the road to Concord was the old Powder Tower, whose remains are to-day one of the most characteristic relics of the past near Boston. Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, ch. v. It was to this magazine that Gage sent the expedition in September, 1774, to seize the powder, as told in the preceding chapter.

The uneven valley between Winter and Prospect hills was guarded by more than one redoubt; and in the rear of one of them, in an old farm-house still standing on Sycamore Street, known as the Tufts house, Lee had his headquarters.

Pelham's map shows the extensive works and out-works which crowned the summit of Prospect Hill, and extended on the one hand into the valley toward Winter Hill, and on the other toward the Cambridge lines. Putnam had begun work here immediately after the retreat from Charlestown. When Washington arrived

Most entirely

Charles Lee

and the army was brigaded, Greene was stationed here under Lee, assuming command on July 26, with a force of three or four thousand men, including his Rhode Islanders, who had been earlier encamped at Jamaica Plain. It was on Prospect Hill that Putnam hoisted his Connecticut flag, — "An appeal to Heaven," — on July 18; and again on Jan. 1, 1776, what they called the Union flag of the Confederated Colonies, — a banner with thirteen stripes.

The road which ran from Charlestown Common to Cambridge Common passed just below Prospect Hill (the present Washington Street in Somerville, and Kirkland Street in Cambridge), and between it and the lesser eminence, called then Cobble or Miller's Hill, — now the site of the Insane Asylum, — where Putnam and Knox on the night of November 22, with the regiments of Bond and Bridge as a supporting force, threw up breastworks which afterward

Wm Bond Colo

became one of the strongest points of the American lines, and when mounted with 18 and 24 pounders served effectually to keep the enemy's vessels from moving too near.

Just South of Cobble Hill, the marshy land intersected by Willis's Creek made an island of the region now known as East Cambridge, but

which was then called Phips's farm, or Lechmere's Point, the old farm-house standing near where the modern court house is. Richard Lech-

Eben Bridge, Col.º 27th Regiment
Nov.r 30. 1775

mere, who owned it, had acquired it by marrying the daughter of Spencer Phips, the royal Lieut.-Governor, whence the two names. He was now a Tory, and the upland was soon put to good use. Gage had found it convenient to land his detachment here, which marched to Lexington; and how Boston looked from this point may be seen from one of the heliotypes in the preceding chapter. There was already one causeway, connecting by a bridge over Willis's Creek the neighborhood of Prospect Hill, when Washington determined to fortify the point, and then to extend the road now called Cambridge Street over the marsh, so as to bring the new fort into more direct communication with his centre. Having protected these two approaches by small works on the main land, and Manly's capture of an ordnance ship supplying him with a 13-inch mortar, he began to extend a covered way there on the night of November 29, and broke ground for his main work on December 11, which he was obliged to complete under heavy fire from the Boston side. This, and the frozen ground, delayed the completion till the latter part of February, 1776. Knox's cannon from Ticonderoga played here a good part in the bombardment of March 2, when one of the shot struck the tower of the Brattle Street Church, and was to be seen there to our day.

Thus the advanced posts of the besieging army from their extreme left at Ploughed Hill were continued through Cobble Hill and Phips's farm; while, to protect the centre front, in November two small redoubts were thrown up, bordering on the marshes, further on toward the Charles. One of these, which was intended to repel boats, was found in complete preservation by Finch, in 1822. The further waste by time was repaired by the Cambridge city authorities, in 1858, who enclosed the earthwork, and named it Fort Washington. Pelham's map, and so does Marshall's, places the other battery nearer the Charles; but Finch could find no trace of it. It probably occupied the knoll in the marsh to which Magazine Street now conducts. Paige's *History of Cambridge*, p. 422.

The interior line of defence, which was constructed earlier by Gridley, consisted of detached works, extending from a point on the Charles, where now the Riverside Press is, over Butler (or Dana) Hill, in the direction of Prospect Hill, and ending near Union Square in Somerville. They can be traced on Pelham's map, and are described in Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 186. Finch, in 1822, could find little trace of them.

Just in advance of this line, in the house of the Tory Ralph Inman, Putnam had his head-quarters. He left his son, Colonel Putnam, here to guard the ladies during the action

Ralph Inman

on Bunker Hill. Drake reports the house in 1873 as being cut asunder and wheeled off. It stood on Inman Street, where the road from the college to Phips's farm made a sharp turn to join the Charlestown road. It is shown in Pelham's map. The house before the war was a centre of attraction for the royalist officers in Boston; for Inman kept good cheer, and had pretty daughters. One of them married John Linzee, who commanded the "Falcon" on Bunker-Hill day.

Putnam, on reaching Cambridge, had occupied the Borland house, popularly known as the Bishop's Palace, directly opposite Gore Hall, on Harvard Street. It had been built about fifteen years before by the Rev. East Apthorp of Christ Church, Cambridge, a son of Charles Apthorp, a Boston merchant. John Adams says it was "thought to be a splendid palace, and was supposed to be intended for the residence of the first royal bishop." Another Boston merchant, John Borland, occupied it up to the outbreak; and it was he who added the third story, to give more accommodation for his household slaves, — as the tale goes. The true front is toward Mount Auburn Street.

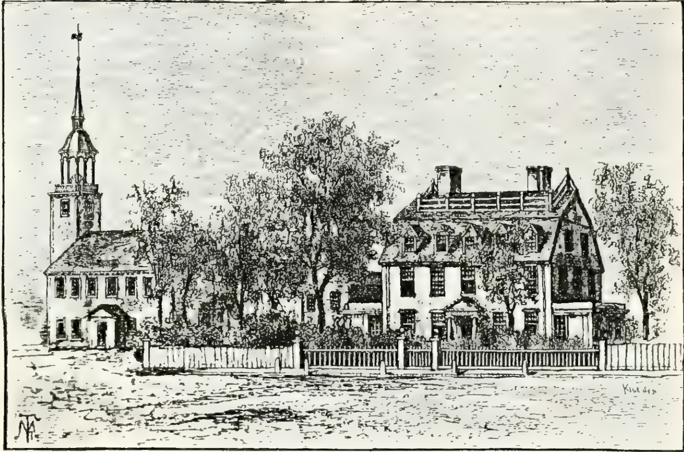
A little further west, and within the college yard, is the present Wadsworth House, the former home of the presidents of the college.

The cut on the next page follows a drawing made by Miss E. S. Quincy during the presidency of her father.

The house in 1776 was fifty years old, having been built in 1726 for the occupancy of President Wadsworth; and it did not have the lateral projections, which were put on in Treasurer Storer's time to enlarge the dining and drawing rooms. It was in this house that quarters were assigned to Washington, by provision of the Congress at Watertown, on his coming to Cam-

bridge; as Mr. Deane has conclusively shown in a paper in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1872, p. 257. See also *Harvard Book; Cambridge of* 1775; Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 206; Quincy's *History of Harvard University*. Miss Quincy thinks that a British shell, which passed over the house and fell in Harvard Square, probably showed that a remoter headquarters were safer for the General. See Dr. Holbrook's account in *Memoirs of Mrs. E. S. M. Quincy*, p. 223.

Hist. Soc. Proc. for 1881. The old Stoughton was to disappear, however, before the war ended. Hollis Hall was also then standing; but hardly a dozen years old. Holden Chapel was thirty years old, and became the place for courts-martial to be held. In May, 1775, the Provincial Congress had taken possession of these buildings, and on the day before Bunker Hill the College library had been removed to a place of safety. The original records of this Provincial Congress are in *Mass. Archives*, cxl.; they have been



THE WADSWORTH HOUSE.

It was in the old meeting-house shown in the engraving, which stood where now the Law School stands, that the Provincial Congress of 1774 held its sessions. Washington attended Sunday services here, occupying a wall pew on the left of the pulpit.

The principal college buildings at this time were Harvard Hall, which, after the fire of 1764, had been rebuilt; Massachusetts Hall; and the Stoughton of that day (seen in the portrait of Wm. Stoughton in Vol. II. 166), which, with the highway opposite, formed a quadrangle of the space now lying between Harvard and Massachusetts, as shown in the old "Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England," of which there are two conditions of the plate: one in Lieut.-Gov. William Dummer's time, as issued by W. Burgis, and the other in the days of Lieut.-Gov. Spencer Phipps, when William Price issued it. A heliotype, considerably reduced, is given in *Mass.*

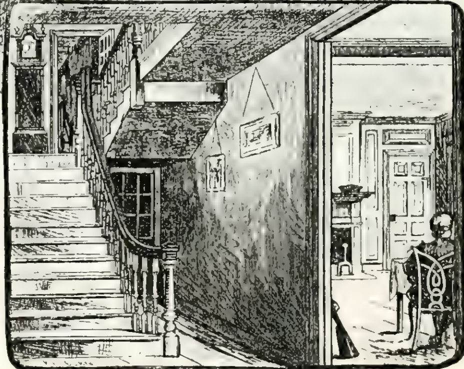
Ephm Doolittle Col.

printed. In the winter of 1775-76, nearly two thousand men were sheltered in these and the lesser college buildings, and they made use of all the college property. On May 3, 1777, the college steward, Jonathan Hastings, made a return of "the utensils left in the college kitchen, which [words carefully erased, evidently "the colony"] of the Massachusetts Bay have not replaced." (*Mass. Archives*, cxlii. 57.)

It is probable that the earliest works raised after Lexington day were some breastworks thrown up across what is now the college yard, and it is probable also that they were raised early in May by Colonel Doolittle and his men; and Drake says, *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 243, that they extended to the right as far as Holyoke

Place. North of the college buildings and fronting on the Common was the house still standing, now owned by the University and occupied by Professor James B. Thayer, by whose permission the view of the old hall, given in the annexed cut, was taken. The door to the right opens into the room in which General Ward held

THE HOLMES HOUSE.



his council of war, when it was resolved to occupy the heights in Charlestown. In the exterior view, the lower windows to the right of the entrance belong to this room. Dr. Holmes says in his "Gambrel-roofed House and its Outlook:" "I retain my doubts about those *dents* on the floor of the right-hand room, the 'study' of the successive occupants, said to have been made by the butts of the Continental militia's firelocks; but this was the cause the story told me in childhood laid them to. That military consultations were held in that room when the house was General Ward's headquarters; that the Provincial generals and colonels, and other men of war, there planned the movement which ended in the fortifying of Bunker Hill; that Warren slept in the house the night before the battle; that President Langdon went forth from the western door and prayed for God's blessing on the men just setting forth on their bloody expedition, — all these things have been told and perhaps none of them need be doubted." (*Poet at the Breakfast Table.* Also see *Harvard Book*, ii. 424; Stillman's *Poetic Localities of Cambridge;* Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 255; and *Middlesex County*, i. 337; McKenzie's *History of First Church in Cambridge.*) It is well known that the house was the birthplace of Dr. Holmes. At the outbreak of the war it was occupied by Jonathan Hastings, the college steward who, in July, 1775, became the postmaster of Cambridge; and it was

his son Jonathan who was later postmaster of Boston. Very soon after Lexington the Committee of Safety took possession, and the original minutes of their doings here are now preserved in the *Mass. Archives*, cxl. It was to this committee that Benedict Arnold, with his Connecticut company, reported, April 29; and from them, May 3, relating to his subsequent resignation, are in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1871. Colonel Carrington, in his *Battles of the American Revolution*, speaks of Ward, then less than fifty, "as advanced in years and feeble in body." Drake gives the same false impression in speaking of "his age and infirmity" two years later.

Mr. Comisary Supply ten men with
ye Common allowance of rum.
June 13. 1775 Artemas Ward

he received his colonel's commission; and here Ward, upon receiving his commission from the Province to be the ranking general of the Massachusetts forces, fixed his headquarters.

This commission was dated May 19, 1775; and that from the Continental Congress, making Ward the second major-general in the service, bears date June 22. These, with other papers

Almost directly west from this house, and on the other side of the Common, still stands the old elm under which Washington, July 3, 1775, first took command of the unorganized army of soldiers then laying siege to Boston. (*Cambridge in the Centennial*, 1875.) The arrival of Washington was anxiously waited, and his assuming command was expected to "be attended with a

great deal of grandeur. There are," writes Lieutenant Hodgkins, that morning, "one and twenty drummers and as many fifers a beating and playing round the parade." — *Ipswich Antiquarian Papers*, 1881.

The annexed cut follows a painting which represents this historic tree before it had begun to show many signs of age. The house in the background occupied the site of the present Shepard Memorial Church, and was standing during the Revolution. It was known as the Moore House, the home of a certain Deacon Moore, whose wraith was said to haunt it. When it was destroyed some years since, two skeletons were found beneath it, walled up in a cavity. (Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 268.) There are accounts of the tree in *Harvard Book*, ii. and in the paper on "American Historical Trees" in *Harper's Monthly*, May, 1862. Christ Church stood then as now, and, except being lengthened, is not greatly changed in outward appearance. A subscription, mainly effected in Boston, had built it about fifteen years earlier, and its parishioners were now mostly Tories and absentees. It was accordingly converted into barracks, and some of the Southern riflemen found quarters there, though occasional church services were held in it, a member of Washington's staff conducting them. See Dr. Hoppin's *Historical Discourse*.

THE WASHINGTON ELM.

Proceeding into Brattle Street from Harvard Square, the first house beyond the University Press is all there is left of the old Brattle Estate. The beautiful and extensive gardens with mall and grotto, and stretching to the river, have all disappeared. William Brattle, who occupied it at this time, deserted it, and fled to his friends in Boston. He was the universal genius of his time, and of course was called superficial. A graduate of Harvard, he served by turns as a theologian and preacher, a physician and bloodletter, a lawyer and attorney-general, a politician and counsellor; and then, to make a Tory of him, the place of brigadier in the militia was conveniently found empty. When he went off to Halifax with Gage, they called him "commissary and cook." The place had been vastly improved under the superintendence of a son, Major Thomas Brattle, who had gone to England early in the war, signifying his neutrality, but exerting himself the mean while to alleviate the trials of American prisoners in that country. At the end of the war his return was allowed by the Legislature only on the strong presentation by Judge Sullivan of his claims to consideration. (Amory's *James Sullivan*, i. 139.) The mansion was early appropriated to the uses of Colonel Mifflin,[1] who acted as the quartermaster-general

[1] John Adams describes dining at this house Jan. 24, 1776, with General Washington and his lady and other company, among whom were "six or seven sachems and warriors of the French Caghnawaga Indians with several of their wives and children," then visiting the camp. "I was introduced to them by the General," says Adams, "as one

of the army, and whose memoranda can be seen on the corner of the plan of the British lines on Boston Neck, in a heliotype given in this chapter.

The grounds of the Brattles extended to those of the Vassalls, whose old mansion is still standing, much shorn of its ancient splendor, and lately the residence of Mr. Samuel Batchelder. The house was at this time a passably old one, seventy-five years or even more having passed since its erection, and its history can be read as written by Mrs. James, Mr. Batchelder's daughter, in *The Cambridge of* 1775, p. 93, showing how many changes have been made in its appearance. The Vassalls had owned it since 1736, when Colonel John Vassall was in possession. He had married a daughter of Lieut.-Governor Spencer Phips, and in years to come she and others who bore the name of the bluff, illiterate sailor, William Phips, were foremost figures in the old Tory aristocracy of Cambridge; for her three sisters married Judge Richard Lechmere, Judge Joseph Lee, and Andrew Boardman. In 1741 Henry Vassall, the colonel's brother, bought it. He was then living in Boston, but had lately been a planter in Jamaica, though of a Boston family. (See vol. II. p. 544.) This Henry married a daughter of Isaac Royall, whose fine mansion on the Medford road we have seen in the occupancy of Lee and Sullivan. The husband died in 1769, and was buried under Christ Church; but the widow survived here till the war began, when she suddenly emigrated to Antigua, leaving the old house to be occupied by the medical staff of the army, under the director-general, Dr. Benjamin Church, who took this position after Washington's arrival. The story of Church's defection need not be told here. Its growth has been traced in Frothingham's *Life of Joseph Warren*, p. 225. (Also see *Siege of Boston*, p. 258; Gordon's *American Revolution*, ii. 134; Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 39; Sabine's *American Loyalists;* and Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume.) The letter which he addressed to his brother in Boston, and which was intercepted, was written in cipher; and in the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii. 326, is a copy of it as "deciphered by the Rev. Mr. West, and acknowledged by the doctor to be truly deciphered." It is attested by Joseph Reed, secretary. The translation was printed in the *New England Chronicle and Essex Gazette* of Jan. 4, 1776, at that time printed in one of the college buildings; and is reprinted in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1857, p. 123. Church was brought before a council of officers September 13, when he did not attempt to vindicate himself. He was now confined in a front chamber of this house, and the name, "B. Church, Jr.," cut by himself in the panel of a closet door in that chamber, can be traced to-day. The court remanded him to the Provincial Congress at Watertown, whither he was taken in a chaise with a guard under General Gates, and the trial took place in the meeting-house, Church making a plausible speech. It is well known that the result was confinement, which was changed for exile; but the vessel which bore him toward the West Indies was never heard of. The annexed autograph is from a letter which he addressed from this house to the president of the Congress. An early copy of his statement, "From

Yr Honours afflicted but faithful Humble Servant
Benja Church Junr
Honble James Warrin Esqr.

I will assist to the utmost of my ability
in dressing the wounded. — I see their
Distress, feel for them, & will relieve
them in every way in my power.
W Eustis

of the grand council-fire at Philadelphia, which made them prick up their ears." — *Familiar Letters*, p. 131. John Adams's *Works*, ii. 431.

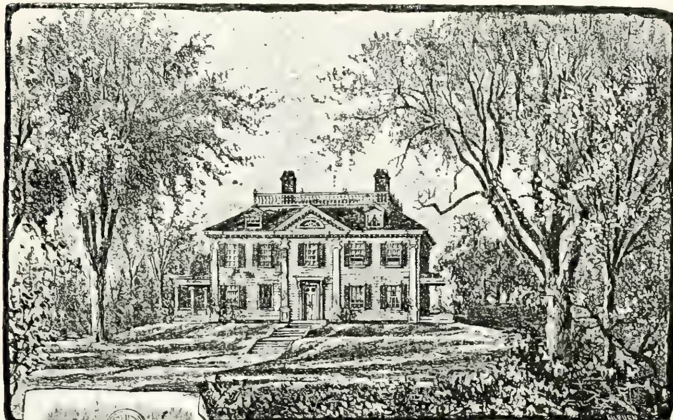
my prison in Cambridge, Nov. 1, 1775," is preserved in the *Sparks MSS.* xlix. i. 1.

John Warren

There is no doubt that the wounded from Bunker Hill were brought here, and were placed under the special care of Dr. Eustis and the other surgeons. There is an engraving of Eustis, after Stuart's likeness, in Drake's *Cincinnati Society*. Eustis had been a pupil of Joseph Warren, who procured for him the appointment of surgeon to the artillery regiment at Cambridge, and later he became the senior surgeon of the camp hospital (*Life of John Warren*, pp. 24, 50) It appears from a paper in the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxviii., that Dr. John Warren, the brother of General Joseph Warren, was put in charge of the Cambridge Hospital, June 26, 1775 William Gamage, Jr., was also in attendance on the wounded, both after Lexington and Bunker Hill, from April 19 to Aug. 17, 1775.

William Gamage Junr
Cambridge June 10th 1776.

Beyond the Vassall house, and on the opposite side of the street, is another, known as the Craigie House, and perhaps the most famous dwelling in America, — at that time the military home of Washington, now the home of Longfellow.



THE CRAIGIE HOUSE.

The annexed cut follows a water-color made by Fenn some years since. When Washington occupied it as his headquarters, his office was the room on the right of the front door, now Longfellow's study. The chamber over it was his bedroom. The present library-room is behind the study, and was used as a staff-room by the commander-in-chief, and is doubtless the apartment in which his secretary, Joseph Reed, made the fair draughts of many of the letters dated at these headquarters. Miss E.

S. Quincy writes to me: "The late Daniel Greenleaf, of Quincy, told me that his father was employed (I believe) to furnish the Vassall House; and calling on Washington, his son accompanying him, the two were invited to dine, — the meal was taken in the room to the right of the front door, and consisted of four dishes of meat, etc., which the aids carved."

We have a pleasant picture of life at the old house in Horace E. Scudder's "Guests at Headquarters" in *The Cambridge of* 1775. The house has been often depicted, — by photography in Stillman's *Poetic Localities*, and in the *Harvard Book*, i.; and on steel in Drake's *Middlesex*, p. 338; etc. The estate at that time was much more extensive than it is at present, and extended northward to include the present Observatory Hill, which at one time bore a summer-house; and from a spring in its neighborhood water was conducted to the mansion through an aqueduct, whose inlet in the foundations of the house is still visible. It is thought that the house was erected by Colonel John Vassall in 1759, and when Washington occupied it was comparatively a new structure. The colonel had but lately abandoned it and joined his Tory associates in Boston, where he occupied the Faneuil house (depicted in Vol. II. p. 523) till he went to England, where he died in 1797. His estate in Cambridge was early confiscated. Immediately upon Vassall's leaving, a Marblehead regiment under Colonel (later General) Glover, took possession, — a band of fishermen commanded by a fisherman, who had reported to General Ward, June 22, — and they appear to have occupied the house till July 7, when they received orders to encamp, the Provincial Congress having directed the furnishing of the mansion for Washington's occupancy. The commander-in-chief records an expense for cleansing the quarters, July 15, so that not far from that time he probably first took possession, and remained in it eight months.

Mrs. Washington did not join her husband in this house till December 11. Mrs. Goodwin, the mother of the late Ozias Goodwin, was the housekeeper of the establishment. In the stable, still standing, were the light phaeton and pair with which General Washington had come to Cambridge, beside the saddle-horses of himself and staff.

Later, the house became successively the property of Nathaniel Tracy of Newburyport, who had fitted out the first privateer in the war; of Thomas Russell, the Boston merchant; and, in 1791, of Dr. Andrew Craigie, late apothecary-general of the Revolutionary army, who had served the wounded at Bunker Hill. The annexed autograph is from a paper dated May 14, 1775, at the hospital in Cambridge. From him the house acquired its name, as did the bridge now connecting Boston and East Cambridge, Craigie being prominent in that enterprise. Later it was the home of Sparks (while editing *Washington's Writings*), Everett, and Worcester the lexicographer; and became that of Longfellow in 1837. Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, ch. xiii.

We must pass hastily by two or three other old Tory houses which marked Brattle Street in the Revolutionary days, and which still stand. First, on the corner of Sparks Street, though now elevated on a new basement story, is the house (owned by John Brewster, a Boston banker) which Richard Lechmere, and, later, Jonathan Sewall, occupied, till he was mobbed and fled to Boston in September, 1774. See Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume, and Mr. Morse's in Vol. IV., for some account of Sewall. Further on, the residence of Mr. George Nichols was the house of Judge Joseph Lee, a Loyalist of careful utterance, who, after wintering in Boston with the British during the siege, was permitted to return to his home, and died here in 1802. And still beyond, hidden by large trees, is the old mansion of the Tory George Ruggles, who lived here up to 1774, when the house passed into the hands of Thomas Fayerwether, who gave it the name by which it is best known. It is at present the residence of Henry Van Brunt, the well known Boston architect.

Further on, the road to Watertown made a turn to the left and passed in front of another old mansion, now known as "Elmwood," and the home of James Russell Lowell. The room on the left of the front door is the reception

room, and behind it is his library, though his study is in the third story. At the outbreak of the Revolution, the last of the lieut.-governors, Thomas Oliver, lived here; and it was in this house, "being surrounded by four thousand people," that in September, 1774, "in compliance with their commands," he signed his resignation and fled to the protection of the soldiers in Boston. When Benedict Arnold, with his Connecticut Company, arrived in Cambridge just after the Lexington fight, they were quartered in this house, but the company remained only three weeks in camp, having been selected in the mean while, as the best equipped company in the army, to deliver within the British lines the body of a royal officer who died of wounds received on April 19. After Bunker Hill the house became a hospital, and the dead were buried in the opposite field. There are other views of this house in Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 317; Stillman's *Poetic Localities of Cambridge*; and, with a notice by John Holmes, in the *Harvard Register*, June, 1881. The city of Cambridge has recently put up tablets to mark its interesting historical sites. *Harvard Register*, February, 1881.

ELMWOOD.

South of the Charles, with the defences on the Brookline shore, began the extreme left of the lines of the right wing. The fort at Sewall's farm was partly on the estate of Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, where traces of it remained till a few years ago, and partly across the track of the Boston and Albany Railroad. It was built by Colonel Prescott's regiment, assisted by Rhode Island troops, just after the battle of Bunker Hill. Prescott had his headquarters in a house half a mile west on Beacon Street, now distinguished by the large elms about it. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1869, p. 151; Woods's *Brookline*, p. 69.

The centre of this wing at Roxbury guarded the only land entrance to Boston. The first defence which the Americans threw up was a redoubt across the main street, where Eustis Street now branches from Washington Street; and it became known later, when it was strengthened, as the Burying-ground Redoubt. When, on August 23, they began an advanced line, they first fortified Lamb's Dam, which was a dike built for keeping out the tide, and extending from near the lead-works, south of Northampton Street, toward the Neck road; and here, on the

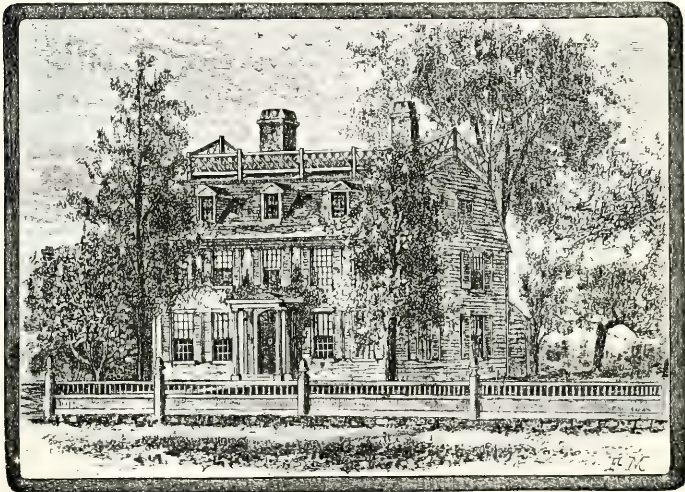
Sewells Point March 23d 1776 —
Wm Prescott Colo.

upland, they built a breastwork, and extended entrenchments to the water on the westerly side, completing them September 10.

A redoubt on the corner of Mall Street in Roxbury defended the road to Dorchester, which was pretty much the present Dudley Street.

A regular work was on the estate of Mr. N. J. Bradlee, called the Lower Fort, of which a plan is given in Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 372. It was planned by Knox.

The strong fort which General Thomas erected on the higher land, where now the Co-



THE OLD PARSONAGE IN ROXBURY.

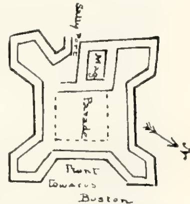
A few days after the fight at Bunker Hill, the old house of Governor Dudley (where now the Universalist Church stands) was taken down, and its foundation stones formed part of the defence here built. Smelt Brook crossed the street in front of it.

There was a battery on rising ground above the marsh, where Sumner Place enters Cabot Street.

Where Parker Street conducts to the site of the old landing place, a battery was held by Colonel Joseph Read's regiment to defend the landing.

A square redoubt on the Ebenezer Francis estate, near Appleton Place, commanding Muddy River, was the most northerly of the Roxbury forts.

chituate stand-pipe is, was known as the Upper Fort. It was begun between July 11 and 14. Drake, *Life of Knox*, p. 18, says that the Roxbury fort was built by that officer, then attracting Washington's attention. This earth-work, perhaps the best preserved of all the Revolutionary defences, was unfortunately, and it would seem needlessly, levelled, in 1869, when the water-tower was built. A small memorial structure near by now points out the



spot, and is inscribed: "On this eminence stood Roxbury High Fort, a strong earthwork planned by Henry Knox and Josiah Waters, and erected by the American army, June, 1775, crowning the famous Roxbury lines of investment at the siege of Boston." It has been said that the first shot fired from its cannon was on July 1. See Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, ii. 24.

The meeting-house of the First Parish, shown in the cut in Mr. Drake's chapter in this volume, was a conspicuous mark for the royal cannon, and its steeple was the signal-station of this wing of the besieging army. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 287.

John Greaton Coll
Boston March 6th 1777

Close by was the house, now the residence of Mr. Charles K. Dillaway, which is also shown in the view given in Mr. Drake's chapter on Roxbury in the present volume. At the outbreak of the war it was occupied by the Rev. Amos Adams of the First Church. It afterward became the headquarters of General John

Head Quarters at Roxbury July 7. 1775
By Order of the General
Tho Chase Major of Brig

Thomas, of Kingston, who, having led hither a regiment from Plymouth at the first summons, was made a provincial brigadier, Feb. 9, 1775, a rank confirmed June 22, by Congress, which also made him a major-general, March 6, 1776. Thomas was a physician by occupation, and was born in 1725, of the old Marshfield stock, and had served in the French war. He did not survive long enough to gain much distinction, dying on the Sorel River, in Canada, in the following June, having taken command of the army which had been repulsed before Quebec. His portrait has been engraved in the illustrated edition of Irving's *Washington*. There was a short account of *The Life and Services of Major-General John Thomas*, by Charles Coffin, published at New York in 1844. Of Thomas's camp James Warren wrote to Samuel Adams, June 21, 1775: "It is always in good order, and things are conducted with dignity and spirit, in the military style."

General Greaton was a Roxbury man; had been an active Son of Liberty; was at Lexington; and July 1, 1775, was commissioned colonel of Heath's regiment. He commanded some of the raids in the harbor. He served through the war, and returned at the end of it to die very soon after, Dec. 16, 1783. He is buried in the Roxbury burying-ground, but his gra/e is without a stone. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 156.

General Ward, while commanding the right wing after Washington had reorganized the army, had his headquarters in the Datchet or Brinley house, which stood near the present church of the Redemptorists, and of which there are views in Lossing's *Field-Book of the War of 1812*, p. 250, and in Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 327, but which hardly represent the magnificence said to have belonged to it in its palmy days, and which is rather extravagantly set forth in Mrs. Lesdernier's *Fannie St. John*. The Dearborns, both generals, father and son, later occupied this house. A journal of Captain Henry Dearborn, kept during Arnold's Kennebec expedition, is preserved in the Public Library. The Connecticut regiments of Spencer, Huntington, and Parsons were encamped on Parker Hill.

[1] The order to which this signature is attached is indicative of the resorts to which the forces were put to make up for the want of bayonets, the absence of which had been of such signal disaster to them, a month earlier, at Bunker Hill. It is addressed to Ezekiel Cheever, at Cambridge, and calls for two hundred and fifteen spears for the use of the camp. See *Life of Nathanael Greene*, i. 115.

General Greene, when with the right wing, had his headquarters in the Loring-Greenough house, (near the Soldiers' Monument), of which a view is given in Vol. II. p. 345.

The headquarters of Colonel Learned's regiment were in the Auchmuty house, of which a view is given in Vol. II. p. 343. The mansion of Governor Bernard on Jamaica Pond, later occupied by the younger Sir William Pepperell, was the quarters of the Rhode Island Colonel Miller for a while, and later it was used as a camp hospital. The Hallowell house, which is shown in Vol. II. p. 344, was also used as a hospital. The Peacock, a famous tavern, stood on the westerly corner of Centre and Allandale streets, in West Roxbury, and was the resort of British officers from town before the siege. More than once it was the resting place of Washington during the siege; and finally it became the residence of Sam Adams during his term as Governor. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 435.

The extreme right was protected by the line of breastworks which guarded the entrance to Dorchester Neck. These are shown on Trumbull's and Pelham's maps.

The extension of the American lines within Dorchester Neck had been long contemplated when, on February 26, Washington wrote: "I am preparing to take a post on Dorchester Heights, to try if the enemy will be so kind as to come out to us." On Saturday evening, March 2, 1776, Washington notified General Ward of his determination to occupy Dorchester Heights on Monday. At eight o'clock on the night of March 4, the intrenchments were begun there. On that night the Americans fired one hundred and forty-four shot and thirteen shells into Boston from their various defences, — chiefly from Lamb's Dam. The rapidity with which the defence was formed on the Heights was owing to the employment of fascines, which had been prepared during the winter in Milton and vicinity. They were first carted to Brookline, to deceive the enemy in regard to the point where they were to be used; and from this deposit a train of wagons, under the charge of Mr. James Boies, conveyed them after dark to the hill. See the statement of Mr. Jeremiah Smith Boies, — who died in 1851, aged eighty-nine, and who was with his father, riding behind his saddle, that night, — printed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 17, 1876.

One of the devices for defence had been a row of casks in front of the works, and these, filled with earth and stones, were to be rolled down the declivity as the enemy approached. General Heath records that this device was suggested by a Boston merchant, Mr. William Davis; and Stedman admits that it was a curious provision, which would have swept off whole columns at once. "It was therefore," he adds as if a consequence, "determined to evacuate the town." A monument on Dorchester Heights bears this legend: "Location of the American redoubt on Dorchester Heights which compelled the evacuation of Boston by the British army, March 17, 1776."

Beside the maps already referred to as useful in tracing the positions of the different works on this extensive line of circumvallation, the earliest account which we have of them, after they had begun to disappear, is that of J. Finch, published in *Silliman's Journal* in 1822, and reprinted in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 409. Various later writers have attempted to trace them in detail. Chief among such are Lossing, in his *Field-Book of the Revolution*; S. A. Drake, in his *Landmarks of Middlesex*; and F. S. Drake, in his *Town of Roxbury*. Some aid will be derived from Woods's *Brookline*, and the histories of Dorchester and South Boston.

THE LITERATURE OF THE SIEGE. — This has been enumerated in Winsor's *Readers' Handbook of the American Revolution*. The most extensive accounts, apart from the general histories, are Richard Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, and Dr. Ellis's, in the *Evacuation Memorial*. Of contemporary material, the most important sources are Sparks's *Washington's Writings*; *Life of Joseph Reed*; *Life of General Greene*; Gordon's *American Revolution*; Colonel John Trumbull's *Autobiography*; Thacher's *Military Journal*; Heath's *Memoirs*; with additional matter in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1859; and papers in Almon's *Remembrancer*, and Force's *American Archives*. There are letters in the *Life of Dr. John Warren*; in the *Life of George Read*; in Abigail Adams's *Letters*; etc. Various camp diaries are in existence: David How's, New York, 1865; McCurtin's, published by the Seventy-six Society; Dr. Belknap's, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1858; Ezekiel Price's, in Ibid., Nov., 1863; Paul Lunt's in Ibid., Feb., 1872; Samuel Bixby, in Ibid., March, 1876; Samuel Sweat's letters, Ibid., December, 1879; diary in *Hist. Mag.*, October, 1864; Aaron Wright's diary in *Boston Transcript*, April 11, 1862; Craft's journal in *Essex Institute Collections*, vol. iii.; letters in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April,

1857, etc. Also, a number of orderly-books, — William Henshaw's, April 20 to Sept. 26, 1775, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1876, and printed separately, 1881, with additional matter (there are later ones of Henshaw in the Amer. Antiq. Soc.); Israel Hutchinson's, in Ibid., October, 1878; Glover's, in *Essex Institute Collections*, v: and among those not printed, — that of John Fenno, secretary to the commander-in-chief, April 20 to Sept. 6, 1775, in Massachusetts Historical Library; one kept at Cambridge, in the Pennsylvania Hist. Soc. Library; Jeremiah Fogg's, in Harvard College Library; and William Lee's, in the Historical Society's Library. An order-book of the Continental army, June 21, 1775–Oct. 9, 1775, the property then of Asahel Clark, of Woodstock, Conn., is noticed in *Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 11, 1880.

The *Massachusetts Archives* are rich in illustrative documents, and Force's *American Archives* give many of the orders. References to sources of information regarding the daily life within the British lines are made in a note to Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume.

Three well-known novels in some degree depict the events in and about Boston during these Revolutionary days: Cooper's *Lionel Lincoln*, Mrs. Child's *Rebels*, and Hawthorne's *Septimius Felton*.

Material for determining the rank and file of this Patriot army is at the State House, in what are called the *Massachusetts Revolutionary Rolls*. A return of the main guard at Cambridge, 1775, is in vol. xxxvi. p. 267. Rolls of the army at Cambridge, in 1775, are contained in vol. xiv. Lists of the field, staff, and company officers of the Massachusetts regiments in 1775 (sixty-six colonels, sixty-one lieut.-colonels, one hundred and thirty-two majors), are in vol. xxvii. p. 197, etc. Other lists of the field and company officers of Massachusetts regiments, 1775–76, and of officers of sea-coast companies, are in vol. xxviii. Full lists of the colonels of Massachusetts regiments, from 1767 to 1775, are in vol. xxviii. p. 84. Pay-rolls of companies for sea-coast defence, 1775–80, are in vols. xxxvi. and xxxvii. Company rolls of various dates, 1776–81, are in the vols. xvii. to xxiv. As a rule, the rolls at the State House, before 1774, are included in the series called *Massachusetts Archives*; but from 1775 to the end of the war they are arranged in what is called the *Massachusetts Revolutionary Rolls*. Various rosters of the regimental officers are printed in 4 Force's *American Archives*, ii., iii.; and in *Colonel William Henshaw's Orderly-Book*.

THE NAVAL SERVICE. — The *Massachusetts Archives*, vols. clxiv. to clxxii., contain documents relating to privateers commissioned from 1775 to 1783. They have been indexed by Dr. Strong, first chronologically and then alphabetically, by the names of the vessels. The earliest Boston vessel named was the "Lady Washington," of thirty tons, April 22, 1776. Then come for the same year the following: "Yankee," "Adam," "Hannah and Molly," "Warren," "Independence," "Boston," "Langdon," "Wolfe," "Speedwell," "Viper," "Phœnix," "Washington," "Eagle," "General Mifflin," "Hawke," "Satisfaction," "Reprisal," "American Tartar," "Hancock."

In 1777: "Buckram," "General Mercer," "Revenge," "American," "Freedom," "Mars," "Fancy," "Cleora," "Charming Sally," "Union," "Betsy," "Sturdy Beggar," "Bunker Hill," "Harlequin," "Friend," "Cumberland," "Starkes," "Lizard," "Active," "Resolution," "Congress," "America," "Washington," "Pallas," "True Blue," "General Arnold," "General Lincoln," "George," "Lydia," "Lively," "America."

After 1777 the number increases, and the index shows three hundred and sixty-five vessels in all, as commissioned and belonging to Boston. In the *Revolutionary Rolls*, vols. v.–vii., are many of the bonds given by the owners of these vessels. There are also numerous bonds in the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxix. 93, etc. Clark's *Naval History of the United States* gives the names of three hundred and forty-two English vessels captured by the Continental privateers in 1776. See also *The Remembrancer* and Cooper's *Naval History*. More or less account of the beginnings of the navy, and of naval successes, will be found in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, pp. 260, 269, 308, and in the Lives of Manly, Tucker, and the other commanders. An abridgment of Sheppard's *Life of Tucker* is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1872. Admiral Preble (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1871, p. 363; 1872, p. 21) gives a list of armed vessels built or fitted out in Massachusetts, 1776–83, which is compiled chiefly from Emmons's *Statistical History of the United States Navy*. Lists of Massachusetts war vessels, 1775, are in *Massachusetts Revolutionary Rolls*, xxvii. Volume xxxix. of the *Revolutionary Rolls* contains the rolls of various State vessels, namely, — Brig "Massachusetts," 1776, 1777; brig "Tyrannicide," 1777–1779; brig "Freedom," 1775–1778; ship "Protector," 1779–1782; ship "Tartar," 1781; brig "Hazard," 1777–1780; ship "Ranger" 1777; ship "Mars," 1780, 1781; sloop "Defence," 1781, 1782. Other navy rolls, largely of privateers, are in vol. xl. Officers of armed vessels, 1775, 1776, are in *Massachusetts Revolutionary Rolls*, xxviii. 130. *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. clvii., so far as it relates to maritime affairs, consists largely of accounts of supplies and ordnance furnished armed vessels. There is much also in the *Pickering Papers*.

CHAPTER III.

THE PULPIT, PRESS, AND LITERATURE OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY DELANO A. GODDARD,

Editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser.

THE famous discourse of Jonathan Mayhew, in the West Church, in 1750, on the Sunday following the anniversary of Charles the Martyr, has been fitly called the "morning gun of the Revolution."[1] Since the restoration of the monarchy this anniversary had been observed in England as a national fast, when the clergy were required to read the service, or preach a sermon against disobedience to authority. Many intelligent persons were at this time apprehensive lest the prelacy should be introduced into New England; and they suspected that even the missions of the church were a cover under which religious liberty was to be sacrificed. Mr. Mayhew, then in his thirtieth year, and in the full vigor of his ripe and manly powers, took this occasion to preach three discourses against the pretension of unlimited submission and non-resistance to authority; in which, with ingenious audacity, he "unriddled" the mysterious doctrine of the prince's saintship and martyrdom, and set forth with singular boldness and eloquence the principles of free civil government. The last of these discourses,[2] with portions of the two preceding it, were at once printed in England and America, and excited profound emotion in both countries.

There were at this time eighteen churches and religious societies in Boston.[3] The intolerance of opinion and the severity of pulpit manners prevailing during the greater part of the first century had in a measure passed away. Prince, Colman, Mayhew, Chauncy, Sewall, Eliot, and less conspicuous ministers introduced more generous views of faith and life, and at the same time set the example of a style in preaching comparatively simple and pure, formed upon good models, and tempered by good sense and unaffected sincerity. The higher departments of learning were pursued by the clergy with steadily increasing spirit. The classics, philosophy,

[1] J. Wingate Thornton, *The Pulpit of the American Revolution*, p. 43. [The West Church is shown in the frontispiece of this volume. — ED.]

[2] *A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers; with some Reflections on the Resistance made to King Charles I., and on the Anniversary of his Death.* Boston, 1750.

[3] *Mass. Hist. Col.*, iii. 256–266.

dialectics, science, and the best literature were studied next to the Bible, as aids to the presentation of its precepts and doctrines. The "five points of Calvinism," long insisted upon with strenuous energy, were yielding before original and independent study of the sources of all truth. Faithful and devout ministers, while holding fast to the essentials of the Orthodox faith, questioned the extreme interpretations thereof till then prevailing, or rejected them altogether. They were at the same time devoted lovers of civil liberty. The general and artillery Election sermons, — the first given the last Wednesday in May, at the meeting of the General Court, when counsellors were chosen; [1] the second at the annual election of officers of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, — greatly contributed to the Revolutionary spirit. Copies of the sermons were given to the members of the General Court for distribution; and during the year the country pulpits resounded with the sentiments of these state discourses. The whole church-going people were thus enlightened in speculative and practical politics to a degree unknown anywhere else in the world.[2]

Mr. Mayhew was one of the most outspoken of these preachers, and came to be recognized as a prophet of the new dispensation. He began his career with an eager thirst for learning, united with a deep religious spirit. He formed for himself habits of methodical reading and systematic reflection, thus early laying upon a rock[3] the foundations of his faith. His ministry was a prolonged conflict. The clergy of the town for a time stood aloof from him; and when he was at last admitted to ministerial fellowship, the Episcopal controversy renewed the strife in another form. His first printed discourses on the right of private judgment, and of freedom of inquiry for moral and religious truth, gained for him the degree of Doctor of

[1] [The earliest of these election sermons is that for 1634, and from that time to the present the roll of the preachers' names is complete, except for fifteen years. The latest list of such is that prepared by H. H. Edes, and appended to the Rev. C. E. Grinnell's sermon, printed in 1871. The earliest of the sermons preserved is that of Thomas Shepard, delivered in 1638, and printed, from the original MS., in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1870, p. 361. It is not known that any was ordered to be printed before Richard Mather's, in 1644; and it is not known that this was printed (*Records of Massachusetts Bay*, May 29, 1644); and the same statement can be made regarding Thomas Cobbett's, in 1649. The earliest known to have been printed was John Norton's, in 1661; but this was not issued from the press till 1664. In the mean while John Higginson's had been delivered and printed in 1663. The *Boston Public Library Bulletin*, January, 1881, contains a list of those known to have been printed. During the period covered by this chapter, sermons were delivered every year except 1764, when the small-pox prevailed in Boston. In 1775 there were two, — one by Samuel Langdon, before the Provincial Congress, at Watertown, May 21; the other by William Gordon, before the House of Representatives, July 19. In 1780, Simeon Howard delivered the usual one; and Samuel Cooper another, at the beginning of the State Constitution, October, 25. — Ed.]

[2] [See Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*. — Ed.]

[3] "Having been initiated in youth in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other renowned persons among the ancients; and such as Sydney and Milton, Locke and Hoadley, among the moderns, — I liked them: they seemed rational. And having learnt from the Holy Scriptures that wise, brave, and virtuous men were always friends to liberty; that God gave the Israelites a king in his anger, because they had not sense and virtue enough to like a free country; and that where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty, — this made me conclude that freedom was a great blessing." — Dr. Mayhew's *Sermon on the Repeal of the Stamp Act*, 1766.

Divinity from one of the Scotch universities,— always prompt and generous in recognizing eminent talent in the New World. These were followed by the celebrated sermons already mentioned, as well as by other discourses on the nature of government and the principles of civil liberty, through which he became identified with the able men then building, better than they knew, for the independence of the colonies.

In the Episcopal controversy, which greatly stimulated the literary activity of the colony and created the liveliest interest among the learned men of the country, Dr. Mayhew was a conspicuous figure.[1] In this discussion it was maintained, on the part of the advocates of Episcopacy, that the Church of England was the established and legal system here as in Great Britain, and that other forms of Christianity only existed through tolerance or permission. Dr. Mayhew, in behalf of the Congregational churches and the dissenting interest, denied this; and maintained that the charters, especially that of Massachusetts, gave absolute authority to the colonial government in matters of religion, and that there was no power in Church, Crown, or Parliament to control or interfere with it. The dispute thus begun was carried on for many months with deep feeling on both sides, and by distinguished contestants in England and America. Grave political questions, growing out of the efforts of the Crown to enforce oppressive acts of trade, at the same time commanded attention. To these Dr. Mayhew gave the last expiring energies of his noble life. He died in 1766, at the age of forty-six years; being then, in learning, courage, and eloquence, the first preacher in America. His printed discourses during the twenty years of his ministry, nearly seventy in number, display remarkable originality and maturity of thought united with great earnestness and directness of expression, a lively imagination, familiarity with books, and comprehensive knowledge of the affairs of the world. His genius and accomplishments were worthy of any age. The cause of liberty in the eighteenth century had no worthier advocate.[2]

Dr. Mayhew's successor, the Rev. Simeon Howard, was also an Arian in religion and a decided Whig in politics, though not of an aggressive or controversial temper. The memorable event of his ministry was the seizure of the church to be used as a barrack for the British troops during their occupancy of the town. Many of his parishioners went with him to Halifax, where he had warm friends, and where a pulpit was ready to receive him.

[1] This famous controversy was begun by the Rev. East Apthorp, an Episcopal clergyman, representing in Cambridge the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." He was a son of Charles Apthorp, merchant of Boston, and was educated at Cambridge, England. He returned to this country upon his admission to holy orders, filled with zeal for his calling; but the time was not favorable, and, after a checkered ministry of six years, he went again to England, where he died in 1816, closing a life of great usefulness and distinction at the age of eighty-four years. He was a sound scholar, amd a learned and ingenious writer. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, v. 179.

[2] Bradford, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Dr. Mayhew;* Dr. Charles Lowell, *Historical Discourses;* Dr. Charles Chauncy, *Funeral Sermon;* Dr. Bartol, *West Church and its Ministers.* [See also Dr. McKenzie's chapter, in Vol. II., p. 244, where a portrait is given; and Dr. Peabody's in the present volume. — Ed.]

Returning to Boston the following year, Dr. Howard devoted his energies to restoring his scattered society, and succeeded, through many personal sacrifices. He was not eminent as a preacher, though his style is described as perspicuous and flowing, and his method as exact and luminous. His simplicity of character, his modest and gentle manners, and the unfailing charity of his disposition under trying circumstances won for him the love of his people and the respectful homage of the community. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh; was an overseer of Harvard College, and a zealous member of many societies for the promotion of charity, literature, and religion.[1]

The ministry of the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft of the First Church was closed by his death in 1769. Educated in the Episcopal church he early changed his views, and for half a century had been a consistent adherent of the New England faith and order of church government. He was a stanch Calvinist, and in his earlier ministry was a persuasive and popular preacher; but through prolonged illness his powers had lost their freshness and vitality before the crisis came.[2]

Next to Dr. Mayhew in the group of eminent pre-Revolutionary divines, though his senior by fifteen years, was Mr. Foxcroft's distinguished colleague and successor, Dr. Charles Chauncy. When the great debates, theological and political, were coming on, he was just passing middle life, and he gave to them all the powers of his highly gifted nature. During this exciting period the interests of Christianity and of civil government were inseparably bound together. The Rev. John Wise's masterly plea, *Democracy, Christ's Government in Church and State*, written for the time of Andros, was reproduced in form and spirit by the clergymen and Patriots of the time of Hutchinson. From 1750 to 1776 this principle had no more watchful and determined champion than Dr. Chauncy. Side by side with Mayhew he fought the good fight for ecclesiastical freedom; and when that gallant warrior fell, he continued the fight with redoubled spirit. For ten years he pursued the Episcopal controversy with unsparing energy, as well as with great learning and strength of reasoning. The contest began with his Dudleian lecture on the "Validity of Presbyterian Ordination Asserted and Maintained," and closed with "A Complete view of Episcopacy," — a work of deep interest at the time, and regarded as the ablest of his controversial writings.

Dr. Chauncy was equally confident and alert in the advocacy of his political principles.[3] He knew the Colonies were right. He knew they

[1] The Rev. John Pierce, D.D., in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, viii. 65–67. [See also Dr. Peabody's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] He was critically skilled in the Greek language, a theologian of some excellence, and the author of many sermons in print. Emerson, *Historical Sketch of the First Church*. See also Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 310, 311.

[3] Mr. Thornton, in the *Pulpit of the American Revolution*, p. 114, prints Dr. Chauncy's Thanksgiving sermon, preached July, 1766, on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act, entitled "A Discourse on the Good News from a far Country," with the comment: "This sermon,

would triumph. If human strength were wanting, angels would fight in their behalf. When his friends, familiar with the extreme literalness of his usual discourse, suggested the imprudence of trusting to active recruitment from that quarter, he persisted in saying that such would be the fact. Indeed his style of writing and preaching was severely, not to say defiantly, plain. He had no comprehension of poetry, and he despised rhetoric. It is said that he prayed he might never be an orator. His enemies replied, with more wit than truth, that his prayer was undoubtedly granted. Expediency had no place in his view of divine or human economy. Duplicity and affectation he ranked with the basest vices. His ministry with the First Church continued sixty years, from the time of his ordination until his death in 1787. His printed works include sixty sermons and controversial tracts, and some volumes of theology.[1]

Of like political principles, but in every other respect a striking contrast to Dr. Chauncy, was the accomplished minister of Brattle Street Church, the Rev. Samuel Cooper. He was an elegant rather than a profound scholar, and a most attractive and popular preacher. He is described as of a fine and commanding presence,[2] with a voice of great sweetness and power, uniting with remarkable fluency, as well as grace and force of expression, appropriateness and energy of thought, which never failed to arrest and hold attention. In his religious opinions he was moderately liberal. From the beginning of his ministry he was deeply interested in public affairs, and every occasion for service found him ready to take his full share in them, with Mayhew and Chauncy among the clergy and with Otis and Samuel Adams among the popular leaders. He resisted the ministerial plan of taxation, through the pulpit as well as through the newspapers, to which he was also a frequent contributor.[3] His zeal won for him great influence, and his counsel was sought by all the leading Patriots

an admirable historical picture, drawn by a master, himself a leader of the hosts, abounds in facts, discusses the great principles involved with energy and power, and with the calmness and precision of the statesman."

[1] Dr. John Eliot writes: "Dr. Chauncy was one of the greatest divines in New England. No one, except President Edwards and the late Dr. Mayhew, had been so much known among the *literati* of Europe, or printed more works on theological subjects." See also W. C. Fowler, *Chauncy Memorials*; Tudor, *Life of James Otis*, p. 147; and Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*. [A portrait of Dr. Chauncy is given in Vol. II. p. 226, with a characterization of him by Dr. McKenzie in the same chapter. See also Dr. Peabody's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] [See his likeness in Vol. II. p. 242. The *Boston Magazine*, 1784, p. 191, has a portrait of him engraved by J. Norman. See William Sullivan's account of Cooper in his *Public Men*. — ED.]

[3] "Of the writings which alternately stimulated and checked the public mind in that season of stormy excitement, there were perhaps none of greater efficiency than those of Dr. Cooper. If other hands launched the lightning, his guided the cloud." — Palfrey, *Sermon preached to the Church in Brattle Square*, July, 1824, pp. 16, 17. Dr. Allen (*Am. Biog. Dict.*) says: "His sermons were unequalled in America for elegance and taste." [The somewhat famous verses on the "Boston Ministers," written in 1774, thus characterize him: —

"There's Cooper, too, a doctor true,
Is sterling in his way;
To Jerry Seed, all are agreed,
He well be likened may.
In politics, he all the tricks
Doth wonderously ken;
In 's country's cause and for her laws,
Above most mortal men."

These verses, by "a lover of jingle," are printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1859. — ED.]

of the time. He was the confidential friend and correspondent of Dr. Franklin and of many men of eminent learning in the colony and in Europe; while his personal attractions and knowledge of the world won the intimate regard and friendship of all cultivated persons, except of the officers and supporters of the Crown, by whom he was cordially hated, and for whom he showed no mercy. He was careless about his permanent reputation, was publicly identified with no great historical incidents, and left little printed material to explain his undoubted influence and popularity. He was always a good friend to literature, and a useful patron to Harvard College, of which he was once elected president; and was one of the founders of the American Academy.[1]

The largest congregation in Boston, during the few years preceding the Revolution, was that of the New North Church, under the ministry of the Rev. Andrew Eliot. He was in his religious views a moderate Calvinist, a direct, forcible, and practical preacher, rarely indulging in controversy. He opposed the establishment of Episcopacy by law, and the introduction of bishops; but it was the principle only, and not the practice, to which his conscience objected. When at the close of the siege the troops and the Loyalist inhabitants thought proper to leave the town, it was through his persuasion that Mr. Parker of Trinity was induced to remain, in order that Episcopalians might not be left wholly without a shepherd. During the siege, when his family and many of his friends had departed, he was himself induced to stay and continue the services of his church.[2] His only companions of the same faith were Samuel Mather and Mather Byles, with whom, it may well be supposed, his relations were not intimate. He continued to preach regularly, but with the circumspection which had always distinguished him, and which his present situation especially required. Even in times of the highest excitement Dr. Eliot had resolutely closed his pulpit against political discussions, to the serious displeasure of many persons who never thought of doubting his fidelity. Though sometimes taunted for his scruples, he was a warm friend of America, and was early and constant in his advocacy of the claims of the Colonies; but he never allowed political feeling to interfere with his literary zeal any more than with what he regarded as his religious duty. When Hutchinson's house was mobbed, many valuable books and manuscripts, including that of the second volume of the *History of Massachusetts Bay*, were rescued from destruction through the efforts of Dr. Eliot. He was frequently urged to accept the presidency of the college, and, upon the death of Dr. Holyoke, was chosen to that office, which he declined. His unusual natural gifts were cultivated in many directions. "He sought and intermeddled with all knowledge." Some of his occasional discourses were printed as they were delivered; but, like Dr. Cooper, he was careless of his own

[1] Tudor, *Life of James Otis*, p. 155; Sprague, *Annals of American Pulpit*, i. 440; Lothrop, *History of the Church in Brattle Square.*

[2] [His letters from Boston during the siege are printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878, p. 281. — ED.]

fame, and was only induced after much persuasion to print a single volume of his sermons.[1]

The Rev. Samuel Checkley, Jr., minister of the Second or Old North Church, passed away in 1768, at the close of a pastorate of twenty-one years. He was a zealous preacher, rising at times to a certain sort of eloquence, and is said to have been gifted with uncommon felicity in the devotional exercises of public worship. He printed very little, and appears to have taken no part in public controversies.[2] His successor, the Rev. John Lathrop, preached acceptably until the occupation of Boston by the British, when he left the town, and his church was destroyed. Returning to Boston the following year, his ministry was transferred to the New Brick Church, with which the society of the Old North was a little later united. From a strict Calvinist, Mr. Lathrop came to adopt the views of Mayhew and Chauncy, taking his church with him. He was an ardent Patriot, and mingled in the scenes of the Revolution with great zeal and untiring industry.[3]

The Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton had come to the New Brick Church in 1754,[4] but his ministry was not fortunate. The North End was the centre and hot-bed of the Patriot movement. The residents and church-going people generally were stanch Whigs, with whom Mr. Pemberton had little sympathy. Governor Hutchinson was a member of his congregation, and the minister shared the unpopularity of his august parishioner. When, in 1771, Mr. Pemberton, almost alone among the Boston ministers, attempted to read the Governor's proclamation for the annual Thanksgiving, the Whigs, constituting the greater part of the congregation, indignantly walked out of meeting. From that time the attendance fell away. The minister's health perceptibly failed, and in 1775 the house was closed. Dr. Pemberton — he had been made a Doctor of Divinity by the College of New Jersey in 1770 — retired to Andover during the siege and died in 1779, his connection with the society never having been formally dissolved.[5]

Though the Old South Church was the centre of many of the most exciting events of the Revolution, its ministers took a less conspicuous part in them than those of the neighboring churches. The Rev. Joseph Sewall,[6] "father of the clergy," died in 1769, after a pastorate of fifty-six years. He

[1] Eliot, *Historical Notice of the New North Church*; Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 417–421. [See Vol. II. p. 243. — Ed.]

[2] The Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., *Historical Discourse*, p. 23. [See Vol. II. p. 240. — Ed.]

[3] "Dr. Lathrop's preaching was rather practical than doctrinal; rather sensible than ornate. His sermons were short, not ordinarily exceeding twenty-five minutes in delivery. There was little of the appearance of labor about them; and the thoughts which he expressed, though judicious and pertinent, were generally obvious to ordinary minds, and partook, like the character of his own mind, more of convictions than originality." The Rev. John Pierce, D.D., in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, viii. 68–72. [See also Dr. Peabody's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[4] [See Vol. II. p. 244. — Ed.]

[5] "His piety was of that fervent kind for which his father was remarkable. He had not his superior powers of mind, and in his old age grew unpopular in his delivery, though in former times he drew crowded assemblies by his manner His reading, however, was extensive, and his sermons correct in diction and style. He was a Calvinist according to the principles of our fathers." — *Dr. John Eliot.* See also Dr. Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, pp. 189–193.

[6] [See his portrait in Vol. II. p. 241. — Ed.]

was a minister of the old school, preaching the "faith of the fathers" in its strength and purity. Dr. Eliot speaks of him as more remarkable for piety than for learning; yet he was a good classical scholar and familiar with general literature. He possessed a large estate, which he used with great liberality and public spirit.[1] Dr. Sewall had two colleagues during the later years of his ministry,[2] and his pulpit after his death remained vacant for nearly two years, when John Hunt and John Bacon, young men of talent and promise, were settled together. Hunt was of a sensitive and delicate nature, of affectionate and winning manners, and a persuasive preacher. Bacon was of a disputatious and somewhat overbearing temper, and fell into difficulties with his congregation over the doctrines of atonement and imputation. The ministry of both came to an end in 1775,—that of the former by his early death, the latter by dismissal.[3] Soon after, the congregation was broken up, and the church was converted into a riding-school for the troops then occupying the town.

The New South Church passed, in 1773, to the pastoral care of the Rev. Joseph Howe.[4] The storm was gathering rapidly when Mr. Howe began his ministry. "In the harbor," he wrote to an absent friend, "nothing is seen but armed ships; in the town, but armed men." He was not daunted by them. He performed the duties of his office with zeal and fidelity till the storm broke in 1775, when he returned to Connecticut and died the same year. He was a preacher of remarkable promise, and his death was lamented as a genuine calamity.[5]

Of the Congregational clergy, Dr. Mather Byles stood alone against the Revolution. He tried, with undoubted sincerity, to avoid politics in his pulpit; but his opinions were too notorious, and his sharp tongue was too free, to make his position long an agreeable one either to his people or to himself. He left his congregation in 1776, and in the following year was denounced in town-meeting, and tried by a special court for remaining in Boston during the siege and praying for the king. He was sentenced to be confined on board a guard-ship with his family, and sent to England, but the sentence was not enforced. The last twelve years of his life were spent in retirement; and the favor of the community was never restored to him. In the prime of his life he was blessed with a wonderful flow of spirits, with great skill and command of language, and had some claims to be regarded as a pulpit orator. [6]

The Rev. Samuel Mather continued his ministry, without marked incident, over an independent congregation in North Bennett Street, during the

[1] Wisner, *History of the Old South Church*, p. 33.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 240.—ED.]

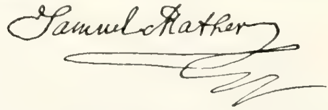
[3] [Ibid., p. 241.—ED.]

[4] [Ibid., p. 243.—ED.]

[5] Allen, *Biographical Dictionary;* Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit.*

[6] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, pp. 376, 382; Tudor, *Life of James Otis.* [His portrait, and some characterization of him, is given in Vol. II. 227, 228. A small oval engraving of him exists, S. Harris, sc. Pelham's engraving is inscribed: "Mather Byles, A. M. et V. D. M. Ecclesiæ apud Bostonum, Nov. Anglorum, pastor. P. Pelham, ad vivum pinx. et fecit." There is some mention of his Revolutionary tribulations in Mr. Scudder's chapter in the present volume.—ED.]

siege and until his death in 1785, when his congregation returned to the Second Church, from which he had taken their fathers forty-three years before. He was on the side of the Colonies during the whole struggle, but took no active part in the discussions attending it. He had an inherited taste for collecting and preserving books, part of which were destroyed at the burning of Charlestown, and the rest were widely scattered after his death.[1] He contributed little to the literature of the time, except a youthful life of his father, and a work now rarely seen, designed to show that America was known to the ancients, beside occasional sermons and theological tracts.



The piety and talent of the Rev. Samuel Stillman gave dignity to the Baptist church at this time of its low estate. He was called to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church in 1765, and came to be recognized as one of the most powerful preachers of the Revolution. The unattached crowd thronged his obscure little church at the North End upon the report of his homely and effective eloquence; and distinguished strangers, as well as sailors just home from their voyages, met every Sunday morning in its narrow aisles. His piety is described as of the type of Hervey, Watts, Doddridge, and Payson.[2] Nothing stirred him to deeper feeling or more moving eloquence, — sometimes scathing, sometimes pathetic, — than the prevailing inattention to religion. Yet he and his church were as deeply interested as any in the state of the country, and no more potent voice was raised in its behalf than that of Mr. Stillman. He was an early patron of, and most liberal contributor to, Brown University, and was devoted to literature and all good causes. The Second Baptist Church had regular services under the ministration of the Rev. John Davis and the Rev. Isaac Skillman, neither of whom left any special mark. Mr. Davis, during his brief ministry, won much respect by his ability and zeal. Backus speaks of him as "the pious and learned Mr. Davis," and the contemporary notices of his death eulogized him as a man "of fine parts, an excellent scholar, and a pretty speaker."

> "Refined his language, and his reasoning true,
> He pleasèd only the discerning few." [3]

The Episcopal clergy of Boston, in common with their friends in the other colonies, espoused the cause of the Crown. They derived their ecclesiastical authority from the Church of England, and loyalty to the king was a part of their worship. Whatever their individual inclinations might have been, they felt bound in a double sense to resist a sentiment and policy

[1] [See Vol. I., Introduction, p. xviii. For Dr. McKenzie's mention of him, see Vol. II. p. 229. — Ed.]

[2] The Rev. Dr. Jenks in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit.* [See also Dr. H. M. King's chapter in the present volume, where a portrait of Stillman is given. — Ed.]

[3] Backus, *History of the Baptist Church in New England;* Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit.*

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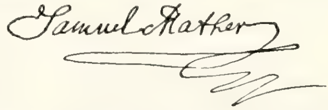

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[3] Backus, *History of the Baptist Church in New England;* Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit.*

which must end in open rebellion; and they resisted at the risk of property, reputation, and life itself. Most of them were sent into exile after fighting a losing battle, and the few who remained were subjected to great losses.

King's Chapel, the first Episcopal church in New England, was at this time in a flourishing state. The Rev. Henry Caner, who had been called to the rectorship in 1747, was highly educated and endowed with many popular qualities. Early in his ministry, and largely through his efforts, the first chapel was built. The university of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. While British ships were in the harbor and British troops in the town, many of their officers regularly worshipped at the chapel. Dr. Caner's ministrations were in every way acceptable to them. There is no trace of his printed discourses later than 1765; but the traditions of his preaching give him a high rank as a man of learning and fine intellectual endowments. He was a devoted Loyalist, and with the departure of the troops in 1776, when it was evident he could no longer be useful in this field, he went with them to Halifax, and soon after returned to England, where he died at a great age in 1792.[1]

The ministry of the learned and venerable rector of Christ Church, Dr. Timothy Cutler, was nearly ended. The grand figure and commanding presence, described by Dr. Stiles, was bowed by infirmity when the crisis began, and in 1765 he passed away at the age of eighty-two years. He was a sincere and consistent Episcopalian, but took no part in the controversy.[2] His assistant, the Rev. James Greaton, continued the services a year or two, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Mather Byles, Jr. This litigious minister had just "dismissed himself," according to the church record, from the church and congregation in New London over which he had been some-time settled, and became a zealous convert to Episcopacy. He was called to the vacant rectorship of Christ Church, and discharged his duties there without marked distinction until the siege, when he again deserted his flock, and left the colony. He was a fierce Loyalist, and was afterward proscribed and banished.

Trinity Church was, at the time of the Episcopal controversy, under the partial care of the Rev. William Hooper.[3] Sabine classes him among the Loyalists, but there is no evidence of his having taken any active share in the contest, even in its earliest stages. He died in 1767. He is described as a man of native nobility of spirit and vigor of mind, uniting with a fine eloquence great clearness of thought and earnestness of purpose.[4] His assistant,[5] the Rev. William Walter, succeeded to the rectorship until 1776, when he also resigned his charge, and accompanied General Howe to Yar-

[1] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, v. 61, 63; Greenwood, *History of King's Chapel*. [See also Dr. Brooks's chapter on "The Episcopal Church." — ED.]

[2] [An account of the Rev. Timothy Cutler's ministry is given in the *Historical Magazine*, supplement of 1866, p. 124. — ED.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. 229. — ED.]

[4] The Rev. Dr. Bartol, in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, v. 123.

[5] [See Dr. Brooks's chapter on "The Episcopal Church," in the present volume, and Dr. McKenzie's chapter in Vol. II. p. 346. — ED.]

mouth in the Province of Nova Scotia. He was a zealous supporter of the Church and the Crown, and vindicated his sincerity by the sacrifices he made for them. He returned to Boston in 1791, became rector of Christ Church, and remained in that relation till his death. His discourses are described as rational and judicious, "recommended by an elocution graceful and majestical." He was no knight-errant; but, while adhering to his own convictions with quiet persistency, he exercised a large charity toward all forms of faith and Christian worship.[1] The Rev. Samuel Parker became assistant rector of Trinity at the death of Dr. Hooper. He came to the post at a crisis, and stood by it through many and great trials. He conducted the services during the siege with remarkable discretion, meeting as well as he could the conflicting claims of his church and of his country. He read the service without interruption, including the prayers for the king, until the Sunday following the Declaration of Independence, when he was publicly warned of the peril of repeating them. The vestry authorized the omission of the offending portions, and the services continued as before. Mr. Parker became rector soon after the war, and received from his congregation many marks of favor for the prudence, patience, and zeal with which, under distressing circumstances, he had kept the holy fire burning on the altar of Trinity.[2] He became the second bishop of the Eastern Diocese in 1803, but died a few months after his consecration.

The Rev. John Moorhead, born at Belfast and educated at one of the Scotch universities, came to Boston with a number of Scotch-Irish families in 1727-28, and established public worship, according to the rites of the Scottish Kirk, under the name of the Church of the Presbyterian Strangers. In 1744 the meeting-house in Long Lane, afterward Federal Street, was built for them,[3] and Mr. Moorhead continued his services here until after the Revolution. He published nothing, and his papers were lost or destroyed at the evacuation; but tradition represents him as a forcible preacher, administering the law and the gospel with zeal and fervency. He and his people were warm friends of liberty. During the same period the Rev. Andrew Croswell conducted the worship of an independent society, with some success, in the church of the French Protestants in School Street. He was a stalwart Calvinist, a deadly foe of Arminianism and "new lights" of every kind, always disputing with the ministers, and usually with those who came nearest to his own way of thinking. He published several occasional sermons, including a narrative of the founding and settling of his own new-gathered church. A little later Robert Sandeman, the Scotchman, after holding meetings at the Green Dragon Tavern and other places, expounding his new doctrines, had a house of worship built for him near the Mill Pond in 1765. He rejected belief in the necessity of spiritual conversion, representing faith as an operation of

[1] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, v. 226, 233.

[2] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, v. 296. His publications were limited to a few occasional discourses.

[3] [See a view of it in Vol. II. p. 513. — ED.]

the intellect, and speculative belief as quite sufficient to insure final justification. He was the founder of the sect of Sandemanians, which survived from the time of his coming to these shores until 1823, when the last light was extinguished.[1]

The Press, like the Pulpit, reflected all the varying phases of current opinion; but its prevailing force was on the side of the freedom of the Colonies. It had conspicuous faults and great virtues; it was personal and partisan to a degree only tolerable in times of conflict; but it was frank, honest, impulsive, and sincere. Of the ebb and flow of events from 1760 to 1775, and the corresponding revulsions of popular feeling, the newspapers give the only satisfactory record. Slow and meagre, for the most part, in presenting the general news of the world, they teemed with resolves, protests, instructions, appeals, sermons, satires, and arguments of every kind, — some addressed to the reason and conscience, some to the strong passions, and all of them written with remarkable force and energy.

Of the pre-Revolutionary journals,[2] the *News-Letter* and the *Weekly Advertiser* remained on the side of the Crown. Richard Draper, who conducted the *News-Letter*, with its numerous combinations,[3] from 1762 to 1774, was an uncompromising Loyalist. The crown officers and their friends had free access to his paper at all times, and defended their cause often with marked spirit and ability. During the occupation the *News-Letter* had no competitor. The few numbers preserved show that the military auauthorities of the town found it a most serviceable instrument, and that they and their friends used it without scruple and without decency. Upon the death of Richard Draper in 1774, the *News-Letter* was conducted by his widow, with the assistance already indicated, until the departure of the troops compelled its suspension.

The *Weekly Advertiser*, in its later years, had limited influence and comparatively few readers, but was never wanting in zeal for the Government. During the last two or three years (1773–75) the authorities, seeing that the tide was now setting strongly against them, secured new and able writers for its columns. Thomas, who remembered the paper well, says that in 1774 it was the chief organ of the Government party. It was patronized by the officers of the Crown, and attracted much notice from the Whigs. The *Chronicle*, 1768–70, published by Mein & Fleming, the leading booksellers, was neutral at first, afterward independent; but from the beginning there was in it an undertone of depreciation of the leading Whigs,

[1] Drake, *History of Boston*, pp. 618, 619; Allen, *Biographical Dictionary*.

[2] See the chapter on the "Press and Literature of the Provincial Period," in Vol. II.

[3] The title in 1762 was the *Boston Weekly News-Letter and New England Chronicle*. The year following, the title was changed to the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter*, and was decorated with the king's arms. In 1768–69 the *News-Letter* and the *Post-Boy* and *Advertiser* entered into a quasi partnership, — one half of each paper being official, and called the *Massachusetts Gazette*, "published by authority;" the other half of each bearing its own separate title, and published independently. The *Weekly Advertiser* also took for a time the name and decorations of the *Post-Boy*. Thomas, *History of Printing*, ii. 25, 59.

which soon developed into open hostility. Its literary pretensions, exceeding those of any other journal in the colony, did not save it from becoming the vehicle of gross calumnies. The people resented its attacks upon their leaders as insulting to themselves; and John Mein, the editor, was forced to seek in his own country a refuge from their indignation. He went to Scotland in 1770, and never returned.

John Mein

Thomas and John Fleet, who succeeded to the estate of their father, the founder of the *Evening Post*, just before the storm arose, tried hard to follow his example and to publish a strictly independent journal. Whigs and Tories fought their wordy battles in its pages with great vigor, and the young publishers for a time kept their balance well. But neither party was long disposed to be tolerant of such neutrality. The issues of life and death were too serious to be trifled with in that way; and the proprietors, after unavailing protests against what they regarded as encroachments upon their rights, discontinued the publication in 1775, the last number mentioning, but not attempting to describe, the "unlucky transactions" of the preceding week, — meaning the battles of Lexington and Concord. One incident of many illustrates the difficulty of maintaining its neutral position among the heady currents of this excited community. The Liberty Song,[1] written by John Dickinson, of Philadelphia, and first printed in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, July 4, 1768, afterward in the *Boston Gazette*, was reproduced by request in the *Evening Post* a month later, "for the

[1] This song was much in vogue in North America for several years, and was written under circumstances related in the following letter. The time was immediately after the refusal of the Massachusetts Legislature to rescind the circular-letter addressed by the House of Representatives to the speakers of the several Colonies.

Dickinson to Otis.

PHILADELPHIA, July 4, 1768.

DEAR SIR. — I enclose you a song for American freedom. I have long since renounced poetry; but as indifferent songs are frequently very powerful on certain occasions, I venture to invoke the deserted Muses. I hope that my good intentions will procure pardon, with those I wish to please, for the badness of my numbers. My worthy friend, Dr. Arthur Lee, a gentleman of distinguished family, composed eight lines of it. Cardinal de Retz always enforced his political operations by songs. I wish our attempt may be useful. . . .

Your most affectionate, most obedient, servant,
JOHN DICKINSON.

The song was to the tune "Hearts of Oak," and began as follows: —

"Come, join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call;
No tyrannous acts shall suppress your just claim,
Or stain with dishonor America's name.
In freedom we 're born and in freedom we 'll live.
Our purses are ready;
Steady, friends, steady, —
Not as slaves, but as freemen, our money we 'll give."

Tudor, *Life of James Otis*, pp. 322, 501.

The travesties were promptly answered by Whig verse-writers, their last song closing, —

"In freedom we 're born, and like sons of the brave
We 'll never surrender,
But swear to defend her,
And scorn to survive if unable to save."

[The song seems to have been first publicly sung in Boston, Aug. 14, 1768, on one of the anniversaries of the Stamp Act disturbance; the *Massachusetts Gazette* of August 18 recording the assembling of a great number of "persons of credit at Liberty Hall, where the much admired American song was melodiously sung;" whereupon "the gentlemen set out in their chariots and chaises for the Greyhound Tavern in Roxbury, where an elegant entertainment was provided. After dinner the new song was again sung, and forty-five toasts drunk. After consecrating a tree to Liberty in Roxbury, they made an agreeable excursion round Jamaica Pond; and it is allowed that this cavalcade surpassed all that has ever been seen in America." This famous Greyhound Tavern stood on the present Washington Street in Roxbury, opposite Vernon Street. It was torn down during the siege. (Drake, *Town of Roxbury*, p. 166.) A letter from Dickinson, in answer to a vote of thanks from Boston, is among the old papers (1768) in the Charity Building. — ED.]

benefit of the whole continent of America." Parodies upon parodies followed in subsequent numbers to the great indignation of one or the other of the parties.

The most noted contributors to these journals were Joseph Green (merchant, poet, and wit, though he took no part in the later political discussions),

JOSEPH GREEN.[1]

Samuel Waterhouse (of the customs service, a notorious libeller), Lieut.-Governor Oliver, Daniel Leonard,[2] and Jonathan Sewall.[3]

Twenty years before the battle of Lexington, the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* was established in Queen Street by Benjamin Edes and John Gill. It was printed on a half-sheet crown folio, afterward enlarged to

[1] [This cut follows a crayon portrait by Copley, belonging to the heirs of the late Rev. W. T. Snow. Perkins, *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 62. A larger likeness, by Blackburn, is owned by Miss Andrews of Boston. See Vol. II. of this History, p. 429. Green was born in 1706, and graduated at Harvard College in 1726. He was a merchant of large fortune, and is said to have had the largest private library in New England. He died in England in 1780. — ED.]

[2] [See the paper on Leonard, by Ellis Ames, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1873; and Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*. — ED.]

[3] "Did not our grave Judge Sewall sit,
The summit of newspaper wit?
Filled every leaf of every paper
Of Mills and Hicks and Mother Draper?
Drew proclamations, works of toil,
In true sublime of scare-crow style;
With forces, too, 'gainst Sons of Freedom,
All for your good, and none would read 'em?"

— Trumbull, *McFingal*.

a whole sheet, the title decorated with rude cuts of an Indian with bow and arrow, and Britannia freeing a bird bound to the arms of France. A little later Minerva appeared in the place of Britannia, holding a spear surmounted by the cap of liberty, and just giving flight to a caged bird toward the tree of liberty.[1] Edes and Gill were both "men of bold and fearless hearts," and welcomed the co-operation of the wisest and ablest counsellors enlisted in the popular movement. Samuel Adams, Jonathan Mayhew, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Dexter, and others, who had spent their first emotions in writing for the *Independent Advertiser*, transferred their eager talents to the new *Gazette*. James Otis, John Hancock, Samuel Cooper, Josiah Quincy, Jr., John Adams, and Joseph Warren joined them a few years later, and resisted through its pages the successive invasions of the chartered rights of the colonies, with rich and varied learning, with arguments drawn from the early conflicts of English liberty, and with fiery and indignant eloquence inspired by a deep sense of injury and lively contempt for the instruments employed to inflict it.

The publication of the "Novanglus" essays in 1774-75 was the most interesting single event in the annals of this journal. The letters of "Massachusettensis," reviewing the questions at issue, in the interest of the Crown, had been printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, one of the names of the *Weekly Advertiser*, addressed "to the inhabitants of the province." The authorship was long a secret. From the skill with which the letters were written, their singular moderation and breadth of view, they were attributed to Jonathan Sewall, then attorney-general, a man of learning and talents. It was more than a generation before the true authorship was assigned to Daniel Leonard, of Taunton.[2] They reviewed the progress of the popular discontent with much ingenuity, with the purpose of showing that the course of the English Government was founded in law and reason; that the Colonies had no substantial grievance; that they were a part of the British Empire, and properly subject to its authority. They also urged that resistance was useless; that the English nation had power to enforce its right, and would exercise it.

Dan Leonard

John Adams returned from the Congress in Philadelphia while these and other ministerial letters were filling the newspapers in Boston, and were topics of conversation in all circles. He at once devoted himself to the task of answering them in a series of letters to the *Boston Gazette*, with the signature of "Novanglus." They were written with characteristic vehemence of manner, but at the same time with remarkable clearness and method, enforced with abundant illustration, and enlivened with original humor. Mr. Adams showed that the Colonies in resisting taxation by au-

[1] Buckingham, *Reminiscences*, i. 166, 120. Dr. Eliot, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 69, suggests another interpretation. The woman with the spear, he says, "may as well represent America in the character of a female active in doing good, profuse of her favors, and pregnant with blessings for future times."

[2] [See Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 380; C. F. Adams's edition of *John Adams's Works*, iv. 70. — Ed.]

thority of Parliament avowed no new doctrine, but were consistent with the course marked out for themselves since the first settlement of the country. He declared with emphasis and fervor that the Colonies were no part of Great Britain, and that the supremacy of Parliament was limited to the dominions represented in it. He scornfully rejected the assumption that America would not maintain her right, or that submission was to be thought of because resistance was perilous. The last of these letters was dated April 17, 1775. Two days later came the fight at Lexington, and the debate was adjourned to the field of battle.

These revolutionary letters, written on the threshold of the war, illustrate on both sides the ascendancy of reason over passion; while they disclose also the impassable breadth and fathomless depth of the gulf which separated the contestants. Mr. Leonard's letters were reprinted in various forms during the two years following. Nothing else of his composition compares with them in brilliancy and force of statement, in variety of illustration, or in the plausible manner with which he anticipated and parried the arguments of his adversary. He was a gentleman of fortune, fond of display, and was the original of Beau Trumps in Mrs. Mercy Warren's *Groups*. Mr. Adams's letters were also reprinted and widely read during and after the war. Together "they form a masterly commentary on the whole history of American taxation and the rise of the Revolution."[1]

Other luminous and fervent writers contributed to the *Gazette* during these interesting years, whose signatures, "Candidus," "Fervidus," and the like, are all that is now left of them. With such co-operation the *Gazette* became a great power in the community. Rarely in our history has a single newspaper, with the ruling powers steadily against it, met a difficult crisis with greater courage, maintained its principles with more splendid ability, or exercised so powerful an influence over the minds of men.

During the occupation of Boston by the British troops the *Gazette* was printed in Watertown, whither Edes had secretly conveyed an old press and types sufficient for the purpose. He returned to town after the evacuation, and with his two sons Benjamin and Peter, — Gill retiring from the partnership, — continued the service with unabated zeal; promptly collecting and publishing intelligence during the war, and, through occasional contributions of especial force and urgency, reviving the drooping hopes or stimulating the flagging courage of the sorely tried Patriots. The great writers, however, who had strengthened the hands of the young printer in the beginning, were drawn into the public service, or had fallen as early martyrs to the cause. In losing them the *Gazette* lost also the power and influence of its earlier days.

Isaiah Thomas began the publication of the *Massachusetts Spy* in July, 1770, in partnership with Zachariah Fowle. It was to be printed three times a week, — once on a half-sheet, twice on a quarter-sheet, — and was designed for mechanics rather than for commercial or professional readers. The

[1] *J. Adams's Life and Works*, by C. F. Adams. Tudor, *Life of James Otis*, p. xvii.

thority of Parliament avowed no new doctrine, but were consistent with the course marked out for themselves since the first settlement of the country. He declared with emphasis and fervor that the Colonies were no part of Great Britain, and that the supremacy of Parliament was limited to the dominions represented in it. He scornfully rejected the assumption that America would not maintain her right, or that submission was to be thought of because resistance was perilous. The last of these letters was dated April 17, 1775. Two days later came the fight at Lexington, and the debate was adjourned to the field of battle.

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THE Maſſachuſetts Spy

A Weekly, Political, and Commercial PAPER; open to ALL Parties, but influenced by None.

[V]OL. I.] THURSDAY, March 7, 1771. [NUMB. 1.

TUESDAY, *March* 5

As a ſolemn and perpetual Memorial
Of the Tyranny of the Britiſh Adminiſtration of Government in the Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

Of the fatal and deſtructive Conſequences of quartering Armies, in Time of Peace, in populous Cities.

Of the ridiculous Policy, and infamous Abſurdity, of ſupporting *Civil Government* by a *Military Force*.

Of the great Duty and Neceſſity of firmly oppoſing Deſpotiſm in its firſt Approaches:

Of the deteſtable Principles and arbitrary Conduct of thoſe *Miniſters* in Britain who adviſed, and of their *Tools* in America who deſired, the Introduction of a Standing Army into this Province in the Year 1768.

Of the irrefragable Proof which thoſe Miniſters themſelves thereby produced, that the Civil Government, as by them adminiſtered, was weak, wicked, and tyrannical.

Of the vile Ingratitude and abominable Wickedneſs of every *American*, who abetted and encouraged, either in Thought, Word or Deed, the Eſtabliſhment of a Standing Army among his Countrymen.

Of the unaccountable Conduct of thoſe *Civil Governors*, the immediate Repreſentatives of his Majeſty, who, while the *Military* were triumphantly inſulting the whole Legiſlative Authority of the State, and while the Blood of the maſſacred Inhabitants was flowing in the Streets, perſiſted in repeatedly diſclaiming all Authority of relieving the People, by any the leaſt Removal of the Troops:

And of the ſavage Cruelty of the Immediate Perpetrators;

Be it forever Remembered

That this day, the Fifth of March, is the Anniverſary of Preſton's Maſſacre, in King-ſtreet, Boſton, New-England, 1770; in which Five of his Majeſty's Subjects were ſlain, and Six wounded, by the Diſcharge of a Number of Muſkets from a Party of Soldiers under the Command of Capt. Thomas Preſton.

GOD Save the PEOPLE!

Salem March 5. 1771.

THURSDAY, March 7.

BOSTON.

On Tueſday laſt the anniverſary of the Boſton Maſſacre, at noon, and after nine in the evening, all the bells in town tolled; and at dark was exhibited in the chamber windows of Mr Revere, in the Old North ſquare, a ſet of tranſparent paintings, repreſenting, in the ſouth window a monumental obeliſk, bearing in front the buſt of young Seider; and on the front of the pedeſtal, the names of the five perſons murdered by the ſoldiery on the fifth of March, and all interred in the ſame grave with him: On the back ground of the painting was finely drawn a figure deſigned for the ghoſt of Seider, in the attitude the fluid when he received his fatal wounds from the murderous hands of the infamous informer Richardſon; and under it, this couplet,

Seider's pale ghoſt freſh bleeding ſtands,
And vengeance for his death demands.

In the middle window was a view of the maſſacre in King ſtreet. In the north window ſat the genius of America, holding the cap of liberty erect, and trampling underfoot a ſoldier hugging a ſerpent, the emblem of a military tyranny.

An Oration containing a brief account of the maſſacre, of the imputations of treaſon and rebellion with which the tools of power endeavoured to brand the inhabitants, and a diſcant upon the nature of treaſons, with ſome conſiderations on the threats of the Britiſh Miniſtry to take away the Maſſachuſetts charter, was alſo delivered that evening at the Factory-Hall by Dr Young.

Above a year has now elapſed ſince poor little innocent Seider received a murderous, mortal wound, which ſoon put an end to that life, which ONE only has a right to take away. The ſuppoſed murderer has had a fair trial agreeable to the good laws of the land, and been found GUILTY; but not yet puniſhed, and ſtill

Young Seider's blood from th' op'ning ground Cries, Juſtice, Juſtice — Hear the ſound!

Some time ago, two Teagues from a diſtant land, converſing with each other on the [illegible] the ſeaſon and lengthening of the days — Ah faith, ſaid one, it is the pleaſanteſt place I ever ſaw in my life, *twelve months* of the year is *winter*, the other *ſix* is *ſummer*. Ah indeed, ſaid the other, it is much pleaſanter now the *days* are *two months* longer.

" *I ſhall make no comment on this, for it needs none.*"

A ſhock of an Earthquake was felt in this town, Marblehead, &c. laſt Sunday morning. The ſhaking was but juſt perceptible.

For the MASSACHUSETTS SPY

An ACROSTIC.

A s Negroes and L — rs in judgement agree!
N o wonder that vice with her arts is ſo free!
D evice and low cunning do commonly ſtand!
R elated in friendſhip and join hand in hand!
E xperience doth teach us that poor black and white!
W hen blended together, as one, will unite!!

Mr THOMAS,

WITHOUT freedom of thought, ſays Mr. Gordon, there can be no ſuch thing as wiſdom; and no ſuch thing as public Liberty without freedom of ſpeech. This is the right of every man, which ought to know no bounds but the injury of others. Licentiouſneſs in ſpeech extends to the denial of the being of a God, his juſtice or providence, and our accountableneſs to him for our actions, our obligations to maintain the tranquility and promote the felicity of the community to which we join ourſelves as members, to do unto every one, as by converſe of condition we could reaſonably expect them to do unto us. To make light of theſe fundamental principles of the law and religion of nature, is a public injury, tending to deſtroy that reverence for virtue, and abhorrence to vice and immorality, which are indeed the principal ſecurities we have for the good behaviour of mankind. Between the freedom of ſpeech here contended for and the injurious uſurpation, there ſeem to be evident marks of diſcrimination, the former meaning no more than the modeſt and ſerious reaſonings of man with man, upon equal terms; the latter an overbearing dogmatiſm or domineering ridicule, aſſuming great wiſdom in the queriſt, and putting the ideot or villian on the reſpondent. There ſeem indeed but two arbiters in the world to which men appeal in matters of debate, Reaſon and Authority. Reaſon is commonly applied to by parties who would endeavour to ſettle matters among themſelves. Authority by thoſe whoſe capacities are confeſſedly deficient, or who are ſo refractory that nothing but the fear of a maſter can keep them in order. To which of thoſe claſſes a man of ſenſe and ſpirit would willingly join himſelf, I will leave all men to determine. In which ſcale the proud, ignorant, haughty and ſelf-conceited are to be found, is well known. Nothing is more prepoſterous than the zeal many pretend for the ſupport of civil and religious liberty, while at the ſame time their boſoms burn with indignation againſt any one who can take the freedom to call one of their favourite notions into queſtion. The ſpirit of a republic being a ſpirit of equality abhors ſuch ferocious bigotry. The ſame Charles among whoſe *twelve good rules* was found '*Touch no ſtate matters,*' alſo prohibited *all diſputings about religion*. The real truth is that religion and civil policy are ſo cloſely connected that whoever attempts to ſeperate them infallibly deſtroys both, and the ſtate which would diſcourage decent enquiries into the foundation, nature and tendency of either will make very bad, becauſe very ſtupid and unprincipled ſubjects.

God beſtowed upon man his reaſon to inform him of the origin, and deſign of his being, of the relation he ſuſtains to his creator, and every ſubordinate ſuperior, equal and inferior, and the duties which naturally flow from and accompany theſe relations. This being the foundation and ſcope of all laws civil and ſacred, the ſyſtems immediately deduced from theſe conſiderations are called the ſyſtems of natural law, of natural religion, meaning the law and religion which force themſelves upon the minds of every honeſt and ſober man who ſeriouſly ſets himſelf about a candid and rational enquiry into the nature, reaſon and relation of things. The ſame ſtill ſmall voice which renders a man a true ſon of liberty in politicks will render him a calm, patient and diſpaſſionate reaſoner upon religious ſubjects, *nullius in verba magiſtri* is the inſcription of the ſeal, with which he impreſſes all his writings. And though conſcious of his averſion to deceive, he warns people to number, weigh and meaſure after himſelf. In this there is great ſafety, for none can tell when God may take away the moſt important Elijah, and much will ſuch a one be affected at his departure, if he reflects that any part of his maſter's council has been kept back from the faithful ſons of the prophets he leaves behind. The perſon who could leave a number of people in a deſart without a pilot, or at ſea without a compaſs, would act exactly the part of the pretended patriot, who would willingly forego any opportunity of inſtructing all the members of the commonwealth to which he belonged in every needed article of preſervative knowledge.

An abſolute authority, an indiſputable ſtandard, muſt exiſt ſomewhere; otherwiſe conteſt muſt be perpetual. To imagine this authority repoſed in any being ſubject to error or ſiniſter deſign, is too abſurd for the ſuperſtition of a papiſt: he therefore cloathes his ſupreme pontiff with a perfection of which the ſupreme Jehovah alone is worthy. It is therefore in the nature and conſtitution of things, directed by his unerring wiſdom, we are to look for the *laws* of nature, the abſolute, perfect and unchangeable *will* of God. The immoderate love of eaſe which bruttifies too many of our ſpecies, engages them to truſt the determinations of the right, the juſt, the honourable to others, in whom they place implicit confidence, and ſcorning to be thought ignorant of propoſitions they never underſtood, and conſequently can neither explain nor defend. The next ſearch their ambition puts them upon, is to find a ſufficient power to ſilence a gainſayer by any means fair or foul. It is in this condition of things the children of wiſdom cry out for liberty of ſpeech, to defend the doctrines of their ſublimic parent! But from the days of John his celeſtial kingdom has ſuffered violence, and nothing but violence will ever defend it, more than force it. Human life is indeed a warfare, and he who will not oppoſe an invader, muſt league to become a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the whole congregation.

The ſecurity of property and the freedom of ſpeech, ſays an eminent writer, always go together, and in thoſe wretched countries where a man cannot call his tongue his own, he can ſcarce call any thing elſe his own. Whoever would overthrow the liberty of the nation, muſt begin by deſtroying the freedom of ſpeech; a thing terrible to public traitors, i. e. to all the enemies of civil and religious liberty.

ELEUTHERIUS.

At the Intelligence-Office,

[illegible] Merchants Row,

Kept by GRANT WEBSTER;

There is to be ſold,

PHiladelphia Flour and Iron, Maryland Flour and Bread, Weſt-India and New-England Rum, Brandy, Madeira and other Wines, Briſtol beer, race and ground ginger, French Indigo, Ruſſia duck, new and ſecond-hand Veſſels of different ſorts, ſecond hand Sails and Anchors, ſeveral compleat ſets of large Scales and Weights; ſeveral genteel Houſes in town, and ſeveral good Farms in the Country (one in particular about ten miles from this town, very agreeably ſituated for a Gentleman's Seat, with a good houſe and barn on it, which will be ſold under the value for ready money,) part of a very valuable Lead Mine in the county of Suffolk, a few Engliſh Goods and ſundry other articles very cheap for the caſh.

WANTED. Several Sums of Money for different perſons, who will give good ſecurity for the ſame, either real or perſonal. Likewiſe, Bills of Exchange, for which the ready money will be paid.

N. B. GOODS of any ſort are taken in and ſold, Bills of Exchange negociated, and any kind of Brokerage done at ſaid Office on reaſonable commiſſions.

MUSICK, and Muſical Inſtruments, viz. Harpſicords, Spinnets, Violins, Piano Fortes, Guittars, and German Flutes; to be ſold by Mr PROPERT, at Mrs. Holbrook's upon the Common.

A FEW Caſks of Choice new RICE, and ſeveral barrels of South-Carolina Pitch, to be ſold on board the ſloop Molly, lying at Green's wharf.

MR. JOAN's Concert, which was to be this evening, is poſtponed till Thurſday the 21ſt inſtant.

*** *Some domeſtic Intelligence, &c. we are obliged to omit for want of room.*

A PROFESSOR ſhall have a place in our next.

J. B. Under conſideration.

second number appeared early in August, and regularly thenceforward for six months, meeting with good success. Thomas, however, was ambitious to undertake a larger paper than had yet been printed in New England; and on March 7, 1771, the *Spy* was issued on a whole sheet, royal folio, as a new weekly publication. The title of the first number was as given in the accompanying *fac-simile;* but it appeared later between two rude cuts, — the Goddess of Liberty on the left; and on the right, two children with a basket of flowers, — and this was followed by the lines from Addison's *Cato:* —

> "Do thou, Great Liberty! inspire our souls,
> And make our lives in thy possession happy,
> Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence."

Thomas was then in his twenty-second year. His paper was at first open to Whigs and Tories alike, but his own partialities were so pronounced that the friends of the Government one by one withdrew from him. The authorities, failing to win him to their service, used all their powers to cripple and discourage him; but their threats and blandishments were alike unavailing.[1] His group of writers grew steadily bolder and more defiant. One of them, whose name has never been known, in a series of forty letters with the signature of "Centinel," discussed the issues between Parliament and the people with learning and spirit, taking for his motto the warning lines from the ballad of Chevy Chase: —

> "The child that is unborn
> Will rue the hunting of that day."

He startled even the Whigs, and alarmed not a few of them, by the boldness with which he challenged all rulers whose authority did not rest upon the natural rights of man. Other writers of like spirit poured oil, not upon the troubled waters, but upon the angry flames. Joseph Greenleaf, over the signature of "Mucius Scævola," denounced the Governor and Lieut.-Governor by name as usurpers, and invoked resistance to their authority. His letter was pronounced "the most daring production ever published in America." Thomas was prosecuted for libel, but the grand jury refused an indictment. Greenleaf was summoned to answer before the Governor and Council, but he ignored the summons, and his commission as justice of the peace was publicly cancelled. Meanwhile the *Spy* grew more bitterly hostile to the Crown and its agents, and its defiance of all restraint attracted the attention of the continent.[2] Thomas was hung in effigy in many places,

[1] "The Government hoped to buy the young printer: he was not in the market. It tried to drive him: he could not be driven. It tried to alarm him: he was without fear. It tried to suppress him; but he baffled and defeated every attempt to this end, and gained new strength and influence by every conflict." — B. F. Thomas, *Memoir of Isaiah Thomas*, p. 31.

[2] This excessive zeal was not wholly approved by the elders. John Adams, writing to his wife, July, 1774, quotes Mr. Winthrop, his companion on the eastern circuit, as complaining of the Boston press for printing accounts of every popular commotion or disturbance, while in other provinces such occurrences were very properly concealed. "Our presses in Boston, Salem, and Newburyport," he says, "are under no regulation, nor any judicious, prudent care. . . . The printers are hot, indiscreet men; and they are under the influence of others as hot, rash, and in-

and his paper was burned by the hangman. Letters scattered among the people and the soldiers in the early autumn of 1774, mentioning Adams, Bowdoin, Hancock, and others as marked for speedy destruction in the event of an outbreak, also named "those trumpeters of sedition, the printers Edes and Gill and Thomas," as not to be forgotten.

The writers for the *Spy* were more abusive and exasperating than those in the *Gazette*, but both were pursuing the same end. Thomas took his ground not merely upon the rights of the Colonies under the Charter, but upon the rights of human nature. Hancock, writing to him April 4, 1775, from the Provincial Congress, then sitting at Concord, superscribed his letter: "To Isaiah Thomas, Supporter of the Rights and Liberties of Mankind." From the time the *Spy* took its position it was resolute and uncompromising. With abstract discussions of the questions of law and right involved in the struggle, its writers mingled unsparing denunciations of Crown and Parliament, until the country was made familiar with the purpose of resistance, and in the fulness of time was eager to accept the appeal to force. The writers for the *Gazette* were more deliberate, more elaborate, and, as a rule, more highly cultivated. Their illustrations were more learned and copious. Many of them hesitated before declaring openly for independence, toward which their logic compelled them. Others, filled with fiery zeal, blazed with equal fervor.

The temper of the *Spy*, and its incessant activity, made Thomas a marked man; and he prosecuted his work at great personal peril. Just before the battle of Lexington the town became too hot even for his ardent spirit. He sent his family to Watertown early in April, and prepared to follow them. He packed his presses and types, with such movable effects as could be hastily gathered together, and on April 16 "stole them out of town in the dead of night." They were sent to Worcester, where the *Spy* reappeared on May 3 following, with the title again changed to the *Massachusetts Spy, or American Oracle of Liberty*. In its new field, separated from the great spirits who gathered round it in Boston, the *Spy* lost something of its early fire; but its influence was to the end of the contest undiminished.[1]

judicious as themselves, very often." — *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, p. 11.

Dr. Eliot, in his *Narrative of Newspapers*, is still more censorious: "The writers [for the *Spy*] were most of them young men of genius, without experience in business or knowledge of the world; some of whom, perhaps, had no principles to actuate them, or were enthusiasts if they had principles, and wanted judgment where their virtue did not fail. . . . The same spirit and principles lead to a dissolution of all society, and, like more modern publications on equality and the rights of man, are direct attacks at all authority and law; and, being carried into effect, would have made confusion here, as they have since dissolved the government and desolated the fair fields of Europe." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vi. 64, 79.

[1] "The press was used by the Patriots with great activity and effect. The *Boston Gazette* and the *Massachusetts Spy* were the principal Whig journals printed this year (1773) in Boston. The *Gazette* had for a long time been the main organ of the popular party; and it was through its columns that Otis, the Adamses, Quincy, and Warren addressed the public. In fact no paper on the continent took a more active part in politics, or more ably supported the rights of the Colonies. Its tone was generally dignified, and its articles were often elaborate. The *Massachusetts Spy* was more spicy, more in the partisan spirit, less scrupulous in matter;

In the summer of 1775, the printers of the *Essex Gazette*, Ebenezer and Samuel Hall, moved from Salem to Cambridge, established their printing office in Stoughton Hall, and continued the publication under the name of the *New England Chronicle, or the Weekly Gazette*. It was intensely Whig in its sympathies, and had several accomplished contributors. Early the following year, Boston being no longer in a state of siege, the *Chronicle* was moved across the river to School Street, "next door to Oliver Cromwell's Tavern;" was bought by Edward Eveleth Powars and Nathaniel Willis, who changed the name to the *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, and consecrated it anew to "the glorious cause of America." Samuel Adams gave his never resting pen to its service, and John Hancock was among its occasional contributors. It was ably and earnestly on the side of liberty through all the vicissitudes of the Revolution.[1]

It will be observed that the Revolutionary Press derived its chief influence from the constant use which able writers and statesmen made of it. Their spirited arguments, exhortations, and appeals were carried through its agency over every threshold, and, being copied from journal to journal in all the colonies, gave cumulative force and energy to the popular feeling. With such assistance the press, in spite of its limitations, was made to represent in a peculiar sense the form and body of the time. It was a period of prevailing intellectual as well as moral exaltation. Dreams of liberty and self-government, under new conditions, seemed at last about to be realized. The sense of national life was becoming intense and vivid. The terms America, Country, Commonwealth, Nation, came into common use, or acquired new meanings. Phrases implying or asserting a new distribution of public powers, became familiar: all men are by nature equal; kings have only delegated authority; the people may resume supreme power at their pleasure; judges are servants not of the king but of the commonwealth, and are bound by the charter. Franklin's warning before leaving England, transmitted through Lord Howe to Lord North, — "They who can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety," — became a standard maxim, and was often used in calls for public meetings and appeals to public sympathy. Books on personal and public rights, treatises on government, standard writings on canon and public law, were more and more sought for. Milton, Harrington, Sydney, Marvell, and Locke were favorite authors. Bacon and Bolingbroke were often quoted. Montesquieu and Priestley had many disciples; cheap reprints of their works were extant before and during the Revolution.[2]

aimed less at elegance of composition than at clear, direct, and efficient appeal." — Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, p. 51.

[1] [For some account of magazines and other periodical publications of this time, see "The Press and Literature of the Provincial Period," in Vol. II. p. 387. See also S. F. Haven, *Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1871. — Ed.]

[2] "I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England." — Edmund Burke, in the House of Commons, March 22, 1775.

[Vol. IX.] THE [Numb. 429.]

INDEPENDENT CHRONICLE. AND THE UNIVERSAL ADVERTISER.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1776.

MASSACHUSETTS-STATE: BOSTON: PRINTED BY POWARS AND WILLIS, Opposite the NEW Court-House.

From the PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL, Octo. 9.

The CONSTITUTION, *of the* COMMON-WEALTH *of* PENNSYLVANIA, *as established by the* GENERAL CONVENTION, *elected for that purpose, and held at* PHILADELPHIA, *July 15th*, 1776, *and continued by adjournments to September* 28, 1776.

WHEREAS all government ought to be instituted and supported for the security and protection of the community as such, and to enable the individuals who compose it to enjoy their natural rights and the other blessings which the author of existence has bestowed upon man; and whenever these great ends of government are not obtained, the people have a right by common consent, to change it, and take such measures as to them may appear necessary to promote their safety and happiness. AND WHEREAS the inhabitants of this Common Wealth have, in consideration of protection only, heretofore acknowledged allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and the said King has not only withdrawn that protection, but commenced and still continues to carry on, with unabated vengeance, a most cruel and unjust war against them, employing therein not only the troops of Great Britain, but foreign mercenaries, savages, and slaves, for the avowed purpose of reducing them to a total and abject submission to the despotic domination of the British Parliament, with many other acts of tyranny, (more fully set forth in the declaration of Congress) whereby all allegiance and fealty to the said King and his successors are dissolved and at an end, and all power and authority derived from him ceased in these Colonies. AND WHEREAS it is absolutely necessary for the welfare and safety of the inhabitants of said Colonies, that they be henceforth free and independent States, and that just, permanent, and proper Forms of Government exist in every part of them, derived from, and founded on the authority of the people only, agreeable to the directions of the honorable American Congress. WE, the representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania, in General Convention met, for the express purpose of framing such a Government, confessing the goodness of the great Governor of the Universe (who alone knows to what degree of earthly happiness mankind may attain by perfecting the arts of Government) in permitting the people of this State, by common consent, and without violence, deliberately to form for themselves such just rules as they shall think best for governing their future society; and being fully convinced that it is our indispensable duty to establish such original principles of Government as will best promote the general happiness of the people of this State and their posterity, and provide for future improvements, without partiality for, or prejudice against any particular class, sect, or denomination of men whatever, DO, by virtue of the authority vested in us by our constituents, ordain, declare, and establish the following Declaration of Rights and Frame of Government, to be THE CONSTITUTION of this Common-Wealth, and to remain in force therein forever, unaltered, except in such articles as shall hereafter on experience be found to require improvement, and which shall by the same authority of the people, fairly delegated as this Frame of Government directs, be amended or improved for the more effectual obtaining and securing THE GREAT END AND DESIGN OF ALL GOVERNMENT, herein before mentioned.

CHAPTER I.

A DECLARATION of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the State of PENNSYLVANIA.

I. THAT all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

II. That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty GOD, according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding: And that no man ought or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, contrary to, or against, his own free will and consent: Nor can any man, who acknowledges the being of a GOD, be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship And that no authority can or ought to be vested in, or assumed by, any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner controul, the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship

III. That the people of this State have the sole, exclusive and inherent right of governing and regulating the internal police of the same

IV That all power being originally inherent in, and consequently derived from, the People, therefore all officers of Government, whether legislative or executive, are their trustees and servants, and at all times accountable to them

V That Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation or community, and not for the particular emolument or advantage of any single man, family or set of men who are a part only of that community And that the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish Government in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal

VI. That those who are employed in the legislative and executive business of the State may be restrained from oppression, the people have a right, at such periods as they may think proper, to reduce their public officers to a private station, and supply the vacancies by certain and regular elections

VII. That all elections ought to be free, and that all free men having a sufficient evident common interest with, and attachment to the community, have a right to elect officers, or be elected into office.

VIII. That every member of society hath a right to be protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property, and therefore is bound to contribute his proportion towards the expence of that protection, and yield his personal service, when necessary, or an equivalent thereto. But no part of a man's property can be justly taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of his legal representatives. Nor can any man who is conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, be justly compelled thereto, if he will pay such equivalent Nor are the people bound by any laws, but such as they have in like manner assented to, for their common good.

IX That in all prosecutions for criminal offences, a man hath a right to be heard by himself and his council, to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses, to call for evidence in his favour, and a speedy public trial, by an impartial jury of the country, without the unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty Nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself Nor can any man be justly deprived of his liberty, except by the laws of the land or the judgment of his peers.

X That the people have a right to hold themselves, their houses, papers and possessions free from search or seizure, and therefore warrants without oaths or affirmations first made, affording a sufficient foundation for them, and whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded or required to search suspected places, or to seize any person or persons, his or their property, not particularly described, are contrary to that right, and ought not to be granted.

XI That in all controversies respecting property and in suits between man and man, the parties have a right to trial by jury, which ought to be held sacred.

XII That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments, therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained

XIII That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and the State, and as standing armies, in time of peace, are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up: And that the military should be kept under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

XIV That a frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles, and a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, industry, and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty, and keep a Government free. The people ought therefore to pay particular attention to these points, in the choice of officers and representatives, and have a right to exact a due and constant regard to them, from their legislators and magistrates in the making and executing such laws as are necessary for the good Government of the State

XV That all men have a natural inherent right to emigrate from one State to another that will receive them, or to form a new State in vacant countries, or in such countries as they can purchase, whenever they think that thereby they may promote their own happiness.

XVI. That the people have a right to assemble together, to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and apply to the legislature for redress of grievances, by address, petition or remonstrance.

CHAPTER II.

PLAN or FRAME of GOVERNMENT.

Section 1. THE Common-Wealth or State of Pennsylvania shall be governed hereafter by an Assembly of the Representatives of the Freemen of the same, and the President and Council, in manner and form following—

Sect 2. The supreme legislative power shall be vested in a House of Representatives of the Freemen of the Common-Wealth or State of Pennsylvania.

Sect. 3. The supreme executive power shall be vested in a President and Council.

Sect 4. Courts of Justice shall be established in the city of Philadelphia and in every county of this State.

Sect 5. The Freemen of this Common-Wealth and their sons shall be trained and armed for its defence, under such regulations, restrictions and exceptions as the General Assembly shall by law direct, preserving always to the people the right of chusing their Colonel and all commissioned officers under that rank in such manner and as often as by the said laws shall be directed

Sect 6. Every freeman of the full age of twenty-one years, having resided in this State for the space of one whole year next before the day of election for Representatives, and paid public taxes during that time, shall enjoy the right of an elector: Provided always, that sons of freeholders of the age of twenty-one years shall be entitled to vote although they have not paid taxes.

Sect 7. The House of Representatives of the Freemen of this Common-Wealth shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen by the Freemen of every city and county of this Common-Wealth respectively And no person shall be elected unless he has resided in the city or county for which he shall be chosen, two years immediately before the said election, nor shall any member while he continues such, hold any other office except in the militia.

Sect 8. No person shall be capable of being elected a member to serve in the House of Representatives of the Freemen of this Common-Wealth more than four years in seven.

Sect 9. The members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen annually by ballot by the freemen of the Common-Wealth, on the second Tuesday

Of the group of writers brought to the front at this time, partly by the force of events and partly by their own genius, Samuel Adams was the master spirit. From his youth he was deeply interested in public affairs. He read with avidity all attainable books on politics and government, and early made himself familiar with Roman law and political history. He formed a club in 1748 for the purpose of writing and debate on the great interests of the country. Inspired by his example the members gave to these discussions the enthusiasm of youthful ambition, and were stimulated by them to the attainment of broader views and the pursuit of profounder studies. Every invasion of chartered rights, committed or threatened, found Adams and his companions at their posts. The habit of enlisting young men of talent and spirit in the support of principles dear to him continued during his active life. "To my certain knowledge," said John Adams,[1] "from 1758 to 1775 he made it his constant rule to watch the rise of every brilliant genius; to seek his acquaintance, to court his friendship, to cultivate his natural feelings in favor of his native country, to warn him against the hostile designs of Great Britain, and to fix his affections and reflections on the side of his native country." Besides his contributions to the newspapers, already spoken of, the vigorous pen of Samuel Adams was always at the public service. He drafted the instructions to the Boston representatives for 1764 and 1765, containing the first public challenge of the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies without their consent, and the first public suggestion of the union of the Colonies for the redress of grievances. In his representative capacity he suggested or prepared many of the state papers of that period, and made many public addresses. With the single exception of a reply to Thomas Paine, in defence of Christianity, his writings were called forth in the regular course of public service, and were addressed to the pressing political exigencies of the time. The generation following named him "The Father of the Revolution." His blameless life, his unfailing intelligence, his persuasive address, his enthusiasm, always controlled by reason and a religious sense of responsibility, combined to make him a born leader of men.[2]

The impetuous genius of James Otis supplied what was wanting in Adams's well poised temperament. He was an accomplished scholar, a charming speaker, and richly endowed with dashing and brilliant qualities. His first published work (1760) was a treatise on *The Rudiments of Latin Prosody*, with a dissertation on the principles of harmony in composition. He prepared a similar work on Greek prosody, which was never published. The following year, 1761, he was called to take the leading part in the great trial of the Writs of Assistance.[3] Here his remarkable gifts had a fair and adequate field for their exercise. The trial involved not only great pecuniary interests, but the political and civil rights of a continent, and

[1] John Adams's Correspondence, in *Works*, x. 364.

[2] Wells, *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*. [See portrait and references in chapter i. of the present volume. — ED.]

[3] [See Mr. Porter's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

gave ample opportunity for the display of his varied learning, masterly reasoning, and captivating eloquence. From this time forward he knew neither rest nor peace. In 1762, after a sharp controversy with Governor Bernard on a question of his right to authorize expenditures without the knowledge of the House of Representatives, in which Otis was sustained by the House, he published a spirited vindication of its action, which still further stimulated the spirit of resistance to executive power.[1] This fugitive pamphlet contained the fundamental argument on which constitutional liberty rests, and presented in clear array the whole armory of reasoning with which the statesmen of the Revolution fought their later battles. This was followed two years later by *The Rights of the Colonies Asserted and Vindicated*, written with ability and spirit, but making apparent concessions to the authority of Parliament, which excited great distrust and caused a loss of confidence in the steadiness of his judgment which was never fully recovered. His last work appeared in 1765,[2] an eminently patriotic and useful contribution to the discussion; but presenting views concerning a consolidated empire and parliamentary representation of the colonies, not shared by many persons on either side of the contest. In his profession Mr. Otis was pre-eminent, and until his reason failed was distinguished among many accomplished and able men.[3]

The fruitful pen of John Adams, like that of his illustrious kinsman, was given to the same absorbing cause. While reading law in Worcester he had access to most of the standard books with which educated men were expected to be familiar. Frequent references to them in his letters and diary indicate much proficiency in both the ancient and recent classics. The argument of James Otis against the Writs of Assistance, to which he was a listener, was a fresh revelation to his wonderfully receptive and fertile mind.[4] Thenceforward, till the crisis culminated in 1776, he was engaged, with occasional interruptions, in writing for the newspapers, in preparing instructions for representatives, in addressing public meetings or representative bodies, — wherever, indeed, the cause of the colonies needed an able, learned, and fearless defender. In 1765 he was one of a sodality, consisting of two young lawyers besides himself, formed under the patronage of Mr.

[1] The title was, *A Vindication of the Conduct of the H. of Rep. of the Province of the Mass. Bay*, printed by Edes & Gill, 1762. J. Adams, writing of it many years after, said: "Look over the Declaration of Rights and Wrongs, issued by Congress in 1774; look into the Declaration of Independence, in 1776; look into the writings of Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley; look into all the French constitutions of government; and, to cap the climax, look into Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, *Crisis*, and *Rights of Man*, — what can you find that is not to be found in solid substance in this vindication of the House of Representatives?"

[2] *Considerations on behalf of the Colonists, in a Letter to a Noble Lord.* London: printed for J. Almon, 1765.

[3] Tudor, *Life of James Otis*; *Life and Works of John Adams*; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*. Mercy Warren, *History of the American Revolution*; *Monthly Anthology*, v. [See a portrait and references in chapter i. — Ed.]

[4] "From early life the bent of his mind was toward politics, a propensity which the state of the times, if it did not create, doubtless very much strengthened. Public subjects must have occupied the thoughts and filled up the conversation in the circles in which he then moved; and the interesting questions at that time arising could not but seize on a mind like his, ardent, sanguine, and patriotic." — Webster, *Oration on Adams and Jefferson*, Boston, Aug. 2, 1826.

Gridley, then advanced in years, for the purpose of studying the leading writers on oratory and civil law. His first published work, a treatise on the canon and feudal law, was the result of their discussions in 1765, and was printed after the mob of that year. In the *Gazette* he wrote under many signatures on all the leading questions; and though his attachment to his profession made him resolve again and again to forswear politics, he returned to the public arena as often as an excuse was offered. From this time Mr. Adams was fully embarked in public life, and his work and service belong to the general history of the country. His writings of the period preceding and during the Revolution were very carefully preserved, and have been published, with his own later commentaries upon the events which inspired them.[1]

The appearance of British soldiers in Boston, in 1768, was the signal for a fresh appeal to the patriotism of the inhabitants, the boldness and brilliancy of which startled friends and foes. Josiah Quincy, Jr., then just admitted to the bar, published in the *Gazette* of that year the remarkable series of essays bearing the signature of "Hyperion," which at once inspired admiration for his genius and the affectionate interest of all friends of liberty. His defence of the soldiers of the Boston massacre, against the current of popular feeling which he had himself been active in creating, gave further proof of his personal courage and his deep sense of justice. His contributions to the newspapers, and his correspondence with leading statesmen, continued after he was smitten with the signs of fatal illness; and his persuasive and eloquent voice was often heard in public gatherings. His chief work, *Observations on the Boston Port Bill*, with reflections on civil society and standing armies, published in 1774, increased his reputation and influence. But the great promise of his youth and early manhood was not to be realized. He fell on the threshold of the conflict, leaving a pure and noble memory.[2]

Joseph Warren, like most of his eminent contemporaries, also cultivated literature as a patriotic diversion. With every social grace and virtue he united uncommon literary gifts and a passionate love of country. Indeed, they were never long separated. His letters were luminous and prophetic, and his newspaper writings, from the time of the Stamp Act to the close of his life, were noted for purity and force of style, excellent judgment, and a manly spirit. His oration on the anniversary of the Massacre, in 1772, gave fresh lustre to his reputation. He was then in his thirty-first year, in active practice of his profession, and the trusted friend and confidant of all the Whig statesmen. His style was fervent and rhetorical, somewhat over-

[1] C. F. Adams, *Life and Works of John Adams*. [A portrait of John Adams in his old age is given in Mr. Lodge's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] J. Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.* In his will was the following provision: "I give to my son Josiah [afterward President Quincy], when he shall have arrived at the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sydney's works, in a large quarto; John Locke's works, in three volumes, folio; Lord Bacon's works, in four volumes, folio; Gordon's Tacitus, in four volumes; Cato's Letters, by Gordon; and Trenchard's and Mrs. Macaulay's History of England. May the Spirit of Liberty rest upon him!" [See his portrait and references in chapter i. — ED.]

weighted with metaphor and imagery, but frank and sincere in thought, logical and direct in statement, and impressive in delivery. The oration of

1

My ever honored Fellow Citizens,

It is not without the most humiliating conviction
of my want of ability that I now appear before you:
The sense I have of the obligation I am under to obey
the call of my country at all times, together with an
animating recollection of your indulgence exhibited upon
so many occasions, has induced me once more, undeserving
as I am, to throw myself upon that candor which looks
with kindness on the feeblest efforts of an honest mind.
You will not now expect the elegance, the learning, the
fire: the enrapturing strains of eloquence which charm
you when a Lovell, a Church, or a Hancock speaks; but
you will permit me to say that with a sincerity equal
to theirs I mourn over my bleeding country: with them
I weep at her distress, and with them deeply resent the
wrongs which she has suffered from the hands of
cruel and ungodly men.
That personal freedom is the natural right of every
man, and that property, or an exclusive right to dispose
of

WARREN'S 1775 MANUSCRIPT.[1]

1775 was given under circumstances much more singular and distressing. The town was occupied by hostile troops. Warning had been given that

[1] [The manuscript of this second oration of Warren has descended to Dr. John C. Warren, the second of that name, and by his kind permission the first page of it is here reproduced. The script is of uncommon legibility, contained in a quarto book with black or dark covers, and occupies twenty-eight pages, with one paragraph at least inserted on an attached bit of paper. The oration was printed in the *Boston Gazette*, March 17, 1775, and in the same year in a pamphlet by Edes & Gill, and probably the same year in New York. (Frothingham's *Warren*, 428–436.) Dr. Warren also possesses, beside the likeness mentioned in another note, a contemporary colored mezzotint portrait, following evidently the likeness in question; and in his dining-room, above the portrait, hang two swords crossed, — one a slender blade sheathed in black, which is believed to have been the one worn at Bunker Hill; the other was worn for many years by his grandfather as an officer of the Cadets. Dr. Warren possesses various papers of the General and some of his books, which have a printed book-plate: "Joseph Warren. The wicked borroweth and returneth not." See the portrait and references in chapter i. — ED.]

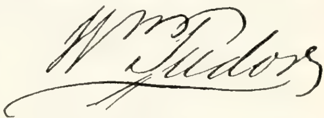
the citizens would commemorate the day at their peril. Warren, with characteristic spirit, sought the post of danger. To avoid the crowd, he reached the pulpit through a window in the rear of it. On the steps of the pulpit and in the pews before him were the military representatives of an empire whose power he met with audacious defiance. The chivalry of his nature had full play in this remarkable presence. Poetry and history have attempted to describe the scene; but no description can give adequate expression to its impressiveness and significance.

In the intervals of these periods of special exaltation, Warren wrote stirring verses for the newspapers, of which "A Song for Liberty," beginning —

> "That seat of science, Athens, and earth's proud mistress, Rome, —
> Where now are all their glories? We scarce can find their tomb,"

is perhaps the best known.[1]

With these Patriots, who are most eminent in the literary annals of the Revolution, were many others whose names are not wholly foreign to them. James Bowdoin published little aside from his contributions to the state papers; but he cultivated letters during his whole life, and his reputation for science and learning extended over both continents.[2] John Hancock, eloquent, graceful, and accomplished, and "formed by nature to act a brilliant part in the affairs of the world," contributed much to the correspondence of the time, and gave an oration in 1774, on the anniversary of the Massacre, in which he rose to the occasion with boldness and dignity.[3] Robert Treat Paine, the learned and eminent judge, had refined literary tastes, and cultivated the society of learned men. He was wise in theology as well as in law, but the tradition of his great acquirements is all that is left concerning them.[4] Oxenbridge Thacher, the associate of Otis in the trial of the Writs of Assistance, an ingenious lawyer, a cultivated scholar, and of a most amiable character, died early in the strife, just as his fine spirit and rich gifts were beginning to be appreciated. William Tudor, who attained eminence at the bar, served with distinction in the army, and delivered the spirited Massacre oration of 1779.[5] Thomas Cushing was a diligent promoter of learning and literature; but his position, as Speaker of the



[1] *Massachusetts Spy*, May 26, 1774. Reprinted in Frothingham's *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, p. 405. Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, i. 466, gives a different version.

[2] Judge Lowell, quoted by R. C. Winthrop, *Orations and Addresses*, i. 131. [See Mr. Lodge's chapter. — Ed.]

[3] Sparks's *Biographies; Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence;* Thacher's *Funeral Sermon;* Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators.*

[4] Washburn, *Judicial History of Massachusetts;* Tudor, *Life of James Otis.* [See the chapters by Mr. Porter and Mr. Lodge in the present volume, and by Mr. Quincy in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[5] [There is a portrait of Colonel Tudor in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 282, and an extended memoir of him by his son in 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* viii. 285.—Ed.]

House for many years, in which he was required to sign all public documents, gave his name a celebrity quite out of proportion to his real influence, which, indeed, was not slight.[1] Benjamin Church, the accomplished physician, poet, scholar, and a writer of undoubted genius, gave his talents to the Whig cause, and was a trusted associate of the Whig leaders until the war began, — for a considerable time, indeed, after he had secretly resolved to betray them.[2] His writings were much celebrated. His poems, sometimes satirical, sometimes serious and pathetic, were always correct and elegant. His orations were polished, scholarly, and eloquent.[3] His prose writings, scattered through the publications of the time, were often witty and philosophical, but never especially profound.

Foremost among the writers on the royalist side was Thomas Hutchinson. Many of his state papers were written with singular moderation and dignity.[4] The royal prerogative had no more able and learned defender than it found in this favored son of the province. Had he fallen upon more peaceful times, he would easily have attained the fame to which his varied accomplishments and his blameless character entitled him; but his over-estimate of power, his want of sympathy with popular rights, and his great ambition led him to the losing side of the controversy which had to be decided in his time. The storm of obloquy falling upon all who shared his faith in the power of the Crown quite overshadowed his undoubted claims to respect as a citizen, a magistrate, and an historian. In various public capacities he had rendered useful service to the Province. He was a capable and upright judge. His charges to the jury were models of clear and methodical statement, and his decisions were founded upon principles of justice and reason. His historical labors do not display original or profound thought, and have few graces of style; but he was conscientiously painstaking and thorough in his investigations, and to the relation of events involving strong partisan feeling he brought a spirit of candor which disarms criticism. The impartiality of his narrative, even in relating incidents of which he was himself a great part, and by whose interpretations he must stand or fall, is one of the striking features of his *History of Massachusetts*

[1] This circumstance led Dr. Johnson, in his pamphlet on *Taxation no Tyranny*, to say: "One object of the Americans is said to be to adorn the brows of Mr. Cushing with a diadem." [Thomas Cushing was Lieut.-Governor, under the new constitution of 1780, till his death in 1788. He was the last to add to his pay as one of the council the salary of that sinecure office, the captaincy of the Castle. See his likeness, etc., in Mr. Porter's chapter.— ED.]

[2] Hutchinson, Letters to Bernard, January, 1772.

[3] Thacher's *Medical Biography;* Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators.*

[4] The more important of these papers are preserved in the volume of *Massachusetts State Papers*, compiled by Alden Bradford, and printed in Boston in 1818. The volume includes the speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1775, and the answers to them by the House of Representatives, with the resolutions and addresses for that period, and other public papers.

Bay. His greed of office, his exaggerated ambition, his persistent misjudgment of the nature of the forces contending for the mastery of this continent, were followed by quick and bitter retribution; but no record of his time is complete which fails to recognize him as one of the very few Americans who, outside of the absorbing interests of the time, made permanent and useful contributions to the history of the country.[1]

Jonathan Sewall, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, was reputed to be one of the best writers of his time in New England. The Royalist journals were indebted to him for many of the ingenious essays in defence of the Crown and Parliament, which enabled them to maintain their ground against great odds from 1768 to 1775. John Adams, his early friend and companion, credits him with a lively wit, a pleasing humor, a brilliant imagination, great subtilty of reasoning, and an insinuating eloquence. Andrew Oliver,[2] Lieut.-Governor, was a temperate and judicious writer in support of the prerogative, and against the extreme pretensions of the Patriots. His son, Andrew Oliver, Jr., more of a scholar than a politician, found time, in the midst of political distractions, to publish treatises on comets, storms, and other natural phenomena; and he was a member of many learned societies.

The names of two women, from very different walks in life, are entitled to a place in the literary annals of this time. "It was fashionable to ridicule female learning," Mrs. Adams wrote in one of her letters. "In the best families it went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few and rare instances, music and dancing."[3] But Mercy Warren was no slave to the social code. Urged by her own intrepid spirit, and stimulated by the example of her brother, James Otis, and her husband, James Warren of Plymouth, she became no indifferent part of the Revolution. Her house was the resort of all its great leaders, and she was a welcome companion in their most secret counsels. Her first publications were *The Adulator*, issued in Boston in 1773, and *The Group* in 1775,—both political dramas satirizing the prominent Royalists. These were followed by poems, less elaborate and of a more serious cast; not remarkable as poetry, but charged with patriotic feeling and closely reflecting the spirit of the times. *The Squabble of the Sea Nymphs*, celebrating the tea adventure; *A Political Reverie*, written while the Colony was hesitating between its ancient loyalty and its passion for freedom; *To the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq.*, who had requested her to give him a poetical list of the articles which a lady would require under the head of "real necessaries of life," while trade with Great Britain was suspended; and later than any of these, *The Sack of Rome*, and *The Ladies of Castile*, — all won great praise in their day and were widely read.[4] Mrs. Warren kept at the same time a careful record of public events, and maintained an active correspondence with many Whig statesmen, which at a

[1] [See his likeness and an estimate of him in Dr. Ellis's chapter in Vol. II. p. 68; also Mr. Porter's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] [See his likeness and references in Mr. Porter's chapter. — ED.]

[3] *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, x. xi.

[4] *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous.* By Mrs. M. Warren. Boston: Thomas & Andrews, 1790.

later period furnished the principal materials for her history of the Revolution.[1]

Phillis Wheatley, a waif brought to these shores in a slave-ship from the coast of Africa, wrote youthful verses, which at first attracted attention rather on account of the novelty of their origin than for any special merit of

I am very affectionately your Friend
Phillis Wheatley
Boston March 21. 1774.

their own. Her earlier poems were first published in England, whither she had been taken in 1773 in ill health, at the age of eighteen years. These poems, gratefully inscribed to the Countess of Huntingdon, her chief friend and benefactor, and subsequently republished in this country, are of various degrees of merit, — the best of them being simple, graceful, and not without traces of genuine poetic and religious feeling. Her memorial verses on the death of Dr. Sewall, of George Whitefield, and of Governor Hutchinson's daughter, and others, were well calculated to win the sympathetic interest of many persons; while her more ambitious poems, "Goliath of Gath," "Niobe Mourning for her Children," and her contemplative and religious poems show great purity of sentiment and unusual gifts of poetic expression. Poverty, neglect, and a tragic death following a melancholy marriage quenched the fire just as it was beginning to light her way to hope and fame.[2]

But the crowning achievement of this period, — the *magnum opus*, to which the ripest thought, the highest aspiration, and the best literary skill of that generation contributed, — were the Massachusetts Constitution and Declaration of Rights of 1780. No worthier monument exists to the intellectual elevation, as well as to the wisdom, sagacity, and breadth of view of the statesmen who modelled and the people who accepted it. John and Samuel Adams, Bowdoin, Hancock, Lowell, Parsons, Cabot, Sullivan, Cushing, and many more had a part in the work ; but John Adams was the

[1] Mrs. Ellet, *Women of the Revolution;* Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature ; Life and Works of John Adams.* [See Mr. Charles A. Cummings's chapter in the present volume, and Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[2] *Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley, a Native African and a Slave.* Boston: George W. Light, 1834; Allibone, *Dictionary of Authors;* Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature ; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1863, 1864, pp. 166, 167 [where will be found various letters by her, edited by Charles Deane, with an account of her by N. B. Shurtleff. The memoir of the 1834 publication was written by Miss M. M. Odell, of Jamaica Plain. The book passed to a second edition in 1835, and to a third in 1838, the latter containing Phillis's letter to Washington, from Sparks, iii. 297. The original edition of her "Poems on various subjects" was published in London in 1773, with an engraved portrait, and it was sold in Boston by Feb. 8, 1774. Other editions were published at Albany in 1793; at Philadelphia, 1801, as an appendix to *The Negro equalled by few Europeans;* at Walpole, N. H., 1802; at Hartford, 1804; and "New England," 1816. See Mrs. Cheney's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

chief architect. The distinguishing feature of this instrument, especially worthy of commemoration here, is the chapter relating to the University of Cambridge, the encouragement of literature, etc., which remains to this day a part of the supreme law of Massachusetts, — at once a model of literary expression and the high-water mark of American statesmanship.[1]

This rapid sketch omits many names and many books entitled to a place in any complete review of the literature of the Revolutionary period. The teeming intellectual fertility of the town itself was stimulated by Thomas Hollis, Nicholas Boylston, Thomas Hancock, and a score of enterprising booksellers who brought or sent into the colony all the standard books on law, politics, and history, together with the best of the belles-lettres then read by the English-speaking world. The printers, moreover, on both sides of the controversy, responded to the spreading interest in public affairs, and poured out pamphlets and broad-sides, which found their way to every man's door. Stately and elaborate essays alternated with the light and ephemeral humors of the passing hour, presenting in every variety of form, and with every shade of feeling, the one leading thought of American intellectual or literary life. On the Loyalist side, under the greatest possible discouragements, there were displayed ability, sincerity, devotion, and many noble virtues which will always command human sympathy. On the Patriot side, while the people were equally disinterested and courageous, the love and the hope of freedom took more passionate and complete possession of them. All social and public interests came under the sway of that impulse; all talents were quickened and uplifted by that conviction. The long travail of a people contending against powerful injustice; the assurance that success would ultimately vindicate and reward their faith; passing moods of depressing doubt and triumphant confidence, alternating with dreams of grandeur and happiness under new institutions, over which kingly power would have no control and lingering tyrannies would cast no shadow, — these were the accompaniments of a political change wrought in a single generation, which in purity of motive, exaltation of purpose, and splendor of results is without parallel in the annals of men.

Delano A. Goddard

[1] "In all the formulas of rights adopted by the several States there is a general resemblance of substance and phraseology. . . . The Massachusetts Declaration is more extended, and enunciates more in detail the investiture of the liberties of the citizen subject; and though I must unavoidably be suspected of bias, I am free to express the opinion that, as a whole, it is superior to any other similar form in existence for its comprehensive projecting of the eclectic lessons of history over the future of a new Commonwealth, for its repeated inculcation of the duties of religion and education as the primary agencies of civilized States, and for its own simple and solid literature. With the exception of the third article it is the work of Mr. Adams, though in the convention it took on considerable changes in the grouping and phraseology." Alexander H. Bullock, *The Centennial of the Massachusetts Constitution*, pp. 20, 21.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE IN BOSTON IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

BY HORACE E. SCUDDER.[1]

THE struggle for personal freedom which occupied the mind of England and her colonies in the eventful last quarter of the eighteenth century was sharply accented in Boston, and the crisis which came with the Boston Port Bill was of a nature to change materially and rapidly the conditions of life in the capital of New England. The succession of hostile acts on the one side, and of retaliatory reprisals on the other, practically sealed Boston Harbor before the British navy made its fence of ships across the entrance, and the sudden check upon free commerce fell with force upon the great centre of the town's activity. At the wharves were idle vessels, in the streets were idle sailors and mechanics, and the saw and hammer which had made the ship-yards noisy were thrown aside. The withdrawal of labor was the concentration of interest upon politics, for public affairs were now more than ever closely involved with private affairs. The introduction of troops into the town increased the disorder, and it would seem as if nothing was going on but town-meetings and street rows. The glance which we get at Boston in the few years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war — through the columns of the journals, the records of the General Court and of the town — discloses a half-turbulent, excited, angry, but resolute town, where there was a constant exhibition in miniature of the conflict which was so imminent.

The resolute, not to say obstinate, temper of the town found abundant opportunity for expression, and the hand seemed always on the hilt. In 1773 the Governor and Council were to have their customary annual election dinner; and the town, in its meeting, instructed the selectmen to grant the use of Faneuil Hall only on condition that neither the commissioners of the customs and their attendants, nor the officers of the army and navy stationed at Boston for the purpose of enforcing unconstitutional acts of

[1] [Mr. Scudder published in 1876, in *Men and Manners in America One Hundred Years Ago*, a picture of life in the colonies, a third of the book being given to New England; drawing his material, without change of form, from some of the most helpful of the contemporary accounts. The recent book of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America*, 1881, gives a chapter (p. 406) to depicting the condition of life in New England just at the out-break of the war. Another general survey will be found in the introduction to *The First Century of the Republic*, New York, 1876. — ED.]

Parliament by military execution, be invited, — it being utterly against the inclination of the town that even one person who had rendered himself inimical to the rights of America should be admitted to the hall upon such an occasion.[1]

The famous non-importation agreement of 1770 struck into society; for those were days when politics and society were so closely identified that there were two camps, more strictly defined than even by religious differences afterward. The matrons entered into an agreement to drink no tea until the revenue acts were repealed. "We do strictly engage," they say, "that we will totally abstain from the use of that article (sickness excepted) not only in our respective families, but that we will absolutely refuse it if it should be offered to us on any occasion whatsoever." A fortnight afterward, that no loophole might be left, the daughters of the Patriots signed a like agreement; and the Patriot papers now began to publish, and to keep standing in their columns, the names of those shopkeepers who refused to enter the non-importation league, and they were practically excommunicated by the town. "It must evidently appear that they have preferred their own little private advantage to the welfare of America; . . . so those who afford them their countenance, or give them their custom, must expect to be considered in the same disagreeable light."[2] One frequently comes upon advertisements of dealers who offer certain goods with the assurance that these were all obtained before the non-importation agreement, and so may safely be sold and bought. Isaac Viburt publishes an indignant card because handbills have been posted charging his wife with buying tea of William Jackson. It was probably done, he declares, "to raise the resentment of the inhabitants, and to injure me in my business, which wholly depends on the employ of the merchants and traders of the town, in repairing of vessels, etc. N. B. — The occasion of Mrs. Viburt's going to Mr. Jackson's shop was, a number of shoes from Lynn was left there for her, and she called on Saturday last and took them away."[3] Such advertisements illustrate well the village-like character of the town, and the extreme sensitiveness of the people.

The sewing-circle was a miniature camp, and American ideas and industry were extolled: —

"Last Wednesday forty-five Daughters of Liberty met in the morning at the house of the Rev. Mr. Moorhead in this town; and in the afternoon they exceeded fifty. By the evening of said day they spun two hundred and thirty-two skeins of yarn, — some very fine. Their labor and materials were all generously given to the worthy pastor. Nothing appeared in their whole conduct but love, festivity, and application. . . . Their entertainment was wholly American production except a little wine, etc. . . . The whole was concluded with many agreeable tunes and Liberty songs, with great judgment; fine voices performed and animated on this occasion in all the several parts by a number of the Sons of Liberty."[4]

[1] *Boston Town Records*, May 14, 1773.
[2] *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1770.
[3] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1770.
[4] Ibid., May 21, 1770.

There was no mincing of matters. If a man went counter to the popular sentiment and passion he was denounced by name, and made to feel the scorn of his neighbors. The rebuke was open and public: —

"Upon a motion made and seconded, *voted* unanimously, that this town have the greatest abhorrence of one of its inhabitants, — viz., Samuel Waterhouse, — who, in defiance of the united sentiment, not only of his fellow-citizens but all his fellow-countrymen, expressed repeatedly in the votes and records of the Honorable House of Representatives of this Province, has continued to accommodate troops at this time so justly obnoxious to a free people and abhorrent to a free constitution, and thereby basely prostituted a once respectable mansion-house to the use of a main guard." [1]

There is something half petty, half sublime, in the solemn way in which the town, in measured sentence, proceeds to write down for posterity the names of those who have shown themselves unworthy townsmen. At a town-meeting held March 19, 1770, this vote was unanimously passed: —

"The merchants, not only of this metropolis but through the continent, having nobly preferred the public good to their own private emolument, and with a view to obtain a redress of the grievance so loudly and justly complained of, having almost unanimously engaged to suspend their importations from Great Britain, — a measure approved by all orders as legal, peaceable, and most likely of all others to effect the salutary design in view, and which will be regarded by posterity with veneration, for the disinterested and truly public spirit appearing in it, — the town cannot but express their astonishment and indignation that any of its citizens should be so lost to the feelings of patriotism and the common interest, and so thoroughly and infamously selfish as to obstruct this very measure by continuing their importation; be it therefore solemnly *voted*, that the names of these persons — few, indeed, to the honor of the town [and then follow a dozen names, one only of which, that of John Mein, the bookseller, has any other notoriety] — be entered on the records of this town, that posterity may know who those persons were that preferred their little private advantage to the common interest of all the Colonies in a point of the greatest importance; who not only deserted, but opposed their country in a struggle for the rights of the Constitution that must ever do it honor; and who, with a design to enrich themselves, basely took advantage of the generous self-denial of their fellow-citizens for the common good."

The intimation in the last clause is of a not unnatural indignation felt and expressed by those traders who signed the agreement, and saw business falling into the hands of less zealous merchants.

Meanwhile, though foreign trade was paralyzed and the community was restless and often disorderly, the very excitement of life was doubtless a stimulus to activity in many directions. John Hancock gave the town a fire-engine, and the town, accepting it with pleasure, directed with an honest simplicity that the engine "be placed, under proper cover, at or near Hancock's Wharf; and in case of fires the estate of the donor shall have the

[1] *Boston Town Records*, March 6, 1770.

BOSTON MERCHANTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

preference of its service."[1] A number of meetings were held to take measures for lighting the town, and the result was a private subscription and the purchase of between three and four hundred lamps.[2] Two respon-

[1] *Boston Town Records*, May 22, 1772. [Several papers relating to the engines and enginemen of this time are among the old papers in the Charity Building. — Ed.]

[2] [Thomas Newell's diary notes: "March 2, 1774. — A number of lamps in town were lighted this evening for the first time." (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1877, p. 349.) He had already (January 8) recorded: "Began to make the tops of the glass lamps for this town." The lamps had come from England, and were on board one of the tea-ships which was wrecked in December, 1773, on Cape Cod. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1865, p. 327. — Ed.]

John Hancock Wm Bowes

Ebenezer Storer Wm Coffin

Sol: Davy

Jno Barrett Nathl Greene

Thom's Russell Jno Spooner

Joseph Lee Joseph Sherburne

W: Phillips Isaac Winslow.

John Avery Benj Hallowell

Wm Fisher Jon: Williams

Nathl Appleton Dan'l Hubbard

Jona Mason Henderson Inches

Nathl Cary Harrison Gray junr

BOSTON MERCHANTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

sible persons from each ward were appointed to decide, with the committee, upon the most fitting places. Gawen Brown, whose name is familiar upon many hall clocks which are still ticking regularly, set up a great clock on the Old South, which "goes with such regularity and exactness that for this fourteen weeks it has not lost by two minutes of time."[1] In February of the same year the newspaper takes notice of the finishing of an excellent spinnet,[2] "which, for goodness of workmanship and harmony of sound, is esteemed by the best judges to be superior to any that has been imported from Europe." The protective high tariff of non-importation was evidently at work.

The order of the town was naturally disturbed by the state of affairs; and one article in the warrant for a town-meeting in March, 1770, was "to consider of some effectual methods to prevent unlicensed strangers, and other persons, from entertaining and supplying the youth and servants of the town with spirituous liquors; for the breaking up of bad houses, and removal of any disorderly intruders to the places from whence they came; and for the further discountenancing of vice and promoting a reformation of manners." A committee was appointed, but reported that the laws were sufficient, and only needed to be enforced. They advised, however, the appointment of twelve tithing-men to see to such enforcement.

The population which remained in Boston, when the town was fairly beleaguered, consisted of the garrison and its immediate camp-following; the Crown officers with their households; a small society of Tories, rich and well-bred, many of whom had sought refuge in the town;[3] a considerable body of poor people, whose sympathies were chiefly with the Patriots; and a few citizens who, belonging to the popular party, remained either to perform the duties of their offices as ministers or doctors, or to protect, as far as possible, their own property and that of their connections. It is probable that among these last would be found those whose interests were chiefly commercial, and who warily avoided committing themselves unreservedly to either side in the conflict. Our sources of information regarding the common life of the town are derived from letters, journals, and the like,[4] from representatives of these several classes, excepting the very

[1] *Boston Gazette*, April 16, 1770.

[2] [See an account of the spinnet of this time in *Harper's Magazine*, lviii. 860. — Ed.]

[3] [Most of these are named in the Editorial Note on "The Loyalists," following this chapter. — Ed.]

[4] [Such sources are the letters of John Andrews, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1865, p. 405; letters in *American Historical Record*, December, 1872; Newell's Diary, in 4 *Mass. Hist. Col.*, i.; letters in *Essex Institute Collections*, July, 1876; and Mr. W. P. Upham's paper, in *Essex Institute Bulletin*, March, 1876; Andrew Eliot's letters, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1878, p. 281, — too cautious to disclose much; letters to G. Greene, in Ibid., June, 1873; letter of Samuel Paine, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876; British officer's journal, in *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1877; *Memoir and Letters of Captain W. G. Evelyn*, 1879, from which there are some extracts in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1879, p. 289. After the action at Bunker Hill, thirty-one Patriots were thrown by General Gage into the jail in Boston. Among them was James Lovell, who had delivered one of the Massacre orations. (See Loring, *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 33). The diaries of two of these captives have been preserved: that of Peter Edes was printed in Bangor in

humble; and from the scanty chronicles preserved in the meagre *Boston News-Letter*, the only paper published in town during the siege, which was, of course, in the Tory interest. The life of which we catch glimpses was one of petty contrasts and of much common discomfort and misery. In the matter of shelter, the gentlemen and ladies of the Royal cause took possession of houses which had been deserted by prominent citizens, or were welcomed by those who remained with satisfaction in their own houses. Hancock's house [1] was occupied by General Clinton; Burgoyne was in the Bowdoin mansion; [2] and Lord Percy in the Gardiner Greene house; [3] Gage and his successor, Howe,[4] took possession, in turn, of the Province House. The officers [5] found lodgings in the aristocratic boarding-houses, which long after this period were the resort of persons who wished a more dignified and comfortable resting-place than the taverns afforded. The troops were disposed in barracks in different parts of the town; [6] and the general aspect of the place was altered by the exigencies of the situation. A number of buildings were taken down near the old Hay-Market, to permit unobstructed passage across the southern part of the peninsula, where the strongest works

1837; that of John Leach is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1865. The manuscripts of both are owned by Mr. H. H. Edes. His letter relating to the two journals is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December, 1871, p. 176. See the *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 157. — ED.]

[1] [There is in the collection of Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of the Public Library, a paper signed by William Bant, "attorney to Mr. Hancock," dated Boston, Feb. 26, 1777, which shows the damage done to Hancock's estate by the British troops during their occupancy, "so far as I have been able to collect it," amounting to £4,732 2*s.* 8¾*d.*, of which, £345 10*s.* 6¾*d.* was damage to the mansion-house and its fences, "since April 19, 1776, taken to Decr 1776," including wines, furniture, "6 muskets given in to Genl Gage by his arbitrary order, @ 80 / ," "lining of the chariot torn out and carried away, £9," "rent of the House one year, £133. 6*s.* 8*d.*" Mention is also made of a "house back of the Mansion House, pull'd down and destroyed, £300;" also "a house in Ann Street pull'd down and destroyed, £500." — ED.]

[2] [Dr. Ellis's paper on "Burgoyne in Boston," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876, p. 233, gives a synopsis of so much of Fonblanque's *Life of Burgoyne* as relates to his stay here. — ED.]

[3] [Percy at one time occupied a fine mansion, with garden, which stood on the northerly corner of Winter and Tremont streets, and which belonged to Mr. John Williams, and had been the town residence of Governor Bernard. After the war it was the home of Samuel Breck (whose *Reminiscences* we have had, as edited by Mr. Scudder), who sold the estate to John Andrews, whose letters, however, at the time now under observation, were written from a house in School Street, where he then lived. Percy is sometimes said at different times to have occupied also the Hancock House, Mrs. Sheaffe's at the corner of Columbia and Essex streets, and perhaps others; but Mr. C. W. Tuttle (*Daily Advertiser*, May 1, 1880) says he has seen no evidence, originating in that period, of his having lived in any house but that of Mr. Williams. — ED.]

[4] [The quarters of General Howe were, before Gage left, in a house at the corner of Oliver and Milk streets. Drake's *Landmarks*, 1872, p. 271. — ED.]

[5] [Brigadier Pigot, of the Forty-third, "improved a house just above Liberty Tree;" but after the fight at Charlestown, his command of the troops on Bunker Hill required his residence on that side of the river. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. Adjutant Waller's *Orderly-Book* has the following: —

"16 Aug., 1775. Whereas some evil-minded person did, on monday last, in the middle of the day, cut off the tail of a little black cow belonging to B. Genl Pigot, whoever will give information against the person guilty of so much cruelty shall receive a guinea reward." — ED.]

[6] [Drake, *Landmarks*, p. 313, says that a battalion of troops was quartered in Sheriff Greenleaf's gardens, at the corner of Tremont and West streets. John Adams's house, in Queen Street (Court Street), was "occupied by one of the doctors of a regiment." It was found, after the evacuation, "very dirty, but no other damage done to it; but the few things which were left in it, all gone." *Familiar Letters*, pp. 149, 154. — ED.]

were built for defence against possible attack.[1] The Old South was used as a riding-school for the light dragoons,—not without a contemptuous reference to the prominence of the building as a gathering-place for the seditious inhabitants,—and other meeting-houses were used for barracks. The Old North Meeting-house was pulled down for fuel, and over a hundred houses were destroyed for the same purpose; chiefly, probably, the old, small, and decaying wooden buildings.[2] There was, of course, no sentiment which would preserve the house of Governor Winthrop for a later destruction by indifferent citizens. The order for destruction was not given until necessity compelled it. Supplies of fuel had been ordered but did not arrive, and the winter set in with uncommon severity.

The customary avenues by which fuel, food, clothing, and other necessities entered the town had been closed, with the exception of the water-way into the harbor, and privateersmen were hovering about the coast harassing the transports that entered there. The town, before the siege, had taken care of itself by the ordinary dealings with the country, and by its commerce; but now it was the work of a military organization to supply the most common necessities of a large and helpless population. Suddenly to feed a town and garrison numbering together twenty thousand souls, and to be dependent chiefly upon slow-sailing vessels, coming from a distance in the inclemency of weather, was a task beyond the capacity of any common quartermaster's department; and rich and poor found themselves in a sad quandary. The testimony on this point is varied and explicit, for men become very talkative about their dinner when they have either had none or fear there is none to come; and the journals and letters of the siege are largely occupied with this topic.[3] John Andrews, one of the merchants who remained behind to have an eye on family property, and whose shrewdness and ready wit plainly stood him in good stead with both parties, makes a survey of the situation near the end of the siege:—

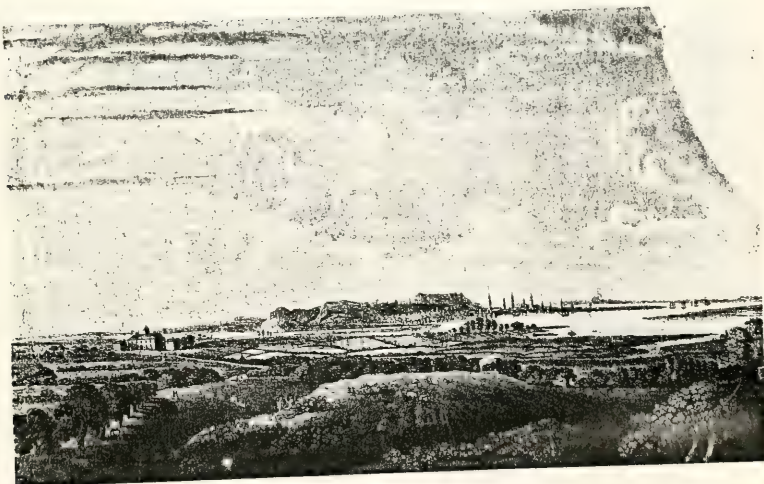
"I am well in health, thank God! and have been so the whole of the time, but have lived at the rate of six or seven hundred sterling a year; for I was determined to eat fresh provisions while it was to be got, let it cost what it would; that since

[1] [These works are best shown in Page's map, given in another chapter. This southern approach to the town is shown pictorially in the annexed heliotypes of two views of Boston, dating from this time; the upper is one of Des Barres's views, and the Neck lines are shown at the point where a flag flies. Something of the ruggedness of Beacon Hill is indicated in the mount beyond the town. In the lower view, which gives Shirley Hall in the middle distance on the left, Beacon Hill seems to assume an appearance which it is hard to accept. The view is much the same as the upper one, but from a point farther back from the shore. It follows a copy of a large print now in the Boston Athenæum. What seems to be the same has been not very accurately engraved in Lossing's *Washington*, and in Frank Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, p. 97; also as a wood-cut, in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 512.—ED.]

[2] [The immediate occasion is said to have been to supply transports with fuel which were about to sail for England with sick. Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, i. 182.—ED.]

[3] ["29 May. Any women, as may be wanted as nurses at the General Hospital, or to do any other business for the service of the Garrison, and shall refuse to do it, will immediately be struck off the provision list."—Waller's *Orderly-Book*, 1775. In August, 1775, John Leach, then confined in Boston jail, enters in his diary: "This afternoon my wife came to ask my advice about signing for buying meat, as none were to have it but friends of Government."—ED.]

A View of Boston from Dorchester Neck



October I have scarce eat three meals of salt meat, but supplied my family with fresh at the rate of one shilling to one shilling sixpence sterling the pound. What wood was to be got was obliged to give at the rate of twenty dollars a cord; and coals, though Government had a plenty, I could not procure (not being an addressor or associator[1]), though I offered so high as fifty dollars for a chaldron, and that at a season when Nabby and John, the only help I had, were under inoculation for the small-pox; that, if you'll believe me, Bill, I was necessitated to burn horse-dung. Many were the instances of the inhabitants being confined to the provost for purchasing fuel of the soldiers, when no other means offered, to keep them from perishing with cold. Yet such was the inhumanity of our masters, that they were even denied the privilege of buying the surplusage of the soldiers' rations. Though you may think we had plenty of cheese and porter, yet we were obliged to give from fifteen pence to two shillings a pound for all we ate of the former; and a loaf of bread of the size we formerly gave three pence for, thought ourselves well off to get for a shilling. Butter at two shillings. Milk — for months without tasting any. Potatoes, from nine shillings to ten shillings and sixpence a bushel; and everything else in the same strain."[2]

The besieging soldiers had a joke that the town bull, aged twenty, was killed and cut up for the use of the officers; and in a letter from one of these to his father in England, it is said: "Why should I complain of hard fate? General Gage and all his family have for this month past lived upon salt provision. Last Saturday, General Putnam, in the true style of military complaisance which abolishes all personal resentment and smooths the horrors of war when discipline will permit, sent a present to General Gage's lady of a fine quarter of veal, which was very acceptable, and received the return of a very polite card of thanks." At one time during the siege only six head of cattle were in the hands of Butcher-Master-General Hewes, as entire stock for troops or inhabitants, and the rejected portions of the slaughtered animals found purchasers among those who were both rich and dainty. One of the accounts, dated the middle of December, says: "The distress of the troops and inhabitants in Boston is great beyond all possible description. Neither vegetables, flour, nor pulse for the inhabitants, and the king's stores so very short none can be spared from them; no fuel, and the winter set in remarkably severe. The troops and inhabitants absolutely and literally starving for want of provisions and fire. Even salt provision is fifteen pence sterling per pound."[3] John Andrews, writing at one time when he was a little less cheerful than usual, did not boast of his fare: "Was it not for a trifle of salt provisions that we have, 't would be impossible for us to live. Pork and beans one day, and beans and pork another, and fish when we can catch it." He gives, frankly enough, his reason for braving all these discomforts: "Am necessitated to submit to such living, or risk the little

[1] An "addresser" was one of those, presumably Loyalists, who joined in congratulatory addresses to Gage and Howe on different occasions. An "associator" was one of the military company of Loyal American Associators, — volunteers who had offered their services to the commander-in-chief, and were enrolled under that name.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865.

[3] Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, p. 280.

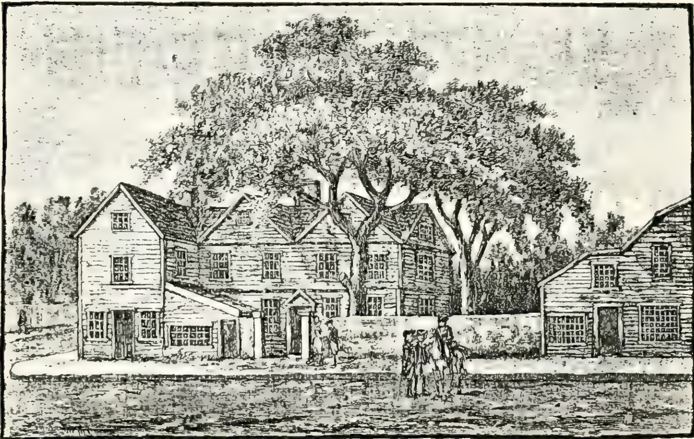
all I have in the world, which consists in my stock of goods and furniture, to the amount of between two and three thousand sterling, as it's said without scruple that those who leave the town forfeit all the effects they leave behind. Whether they hold it up as only a means to detain people or not, I can't say; but, in regard to slaves, their actions have been consistent with the doctrines, however absurd. It has so far availed as to influence many to stay who would otherways have gone."

The higher life of Boston, which had made the town the spokesman for liberty, was perpetuated now outside of its limits, in Cambridge camp, and in the councils of the embryo nation; but there was still a light left burning within the besieged town, where were also the memorials of its past vitality. The very endurance of the poor tradesmen who remained, numbering among them, doubtless, some of those who at an earlier stage of the struggle had refused to build barracks for the English troops, and thus had offered their little sacrifice of wages, the privations of life which stanch Patriots bore, — these were witnesses to the indestructible spirit of the town; and it may be said that the town, whether within or without the lines, was at any time ready for the doom of destruction if that sacrifice was required. The monuments of its cherished ideas bore also a dumb testimony to the conflict which was going on. The houses of the chief citizens, occupied by prominent officers, were for the most part respected by the occupants; but that of Sam Adams, the arch-rebel, was mutilated and disfigured past his slender means of restoration. The public buildings were devoted to the uses of the soldiers. The Old South, as we have seen, was turned into a riding-school, the pulpit, pews, and seats being hacked and carried off. A beautiful carved pew, with silk furniture, belonging to Deacon Hubbard, was taken away and used for a hog-sty, according to Timothy Newell, upon the solicitation of General Burgoyne; and it is difficult not to see in some of the acts of officers and soldiers a spiteful temper. "Dirt and gravel were spread over the floors; the south door was closed; a bar was fixed, over which the cavalry leaped their horses at full speed; the east galleries were allotted to spectators; the first gallery was fitted up as a refreshment room. A stove was put up in the winter, and here were burned for kindling many of the books and manuscripts of Prince's fine library."[1] Timothy Newell's diary contains an amusing account of the shifts to which the worthy deacon resorted to evade the requisition made upon him for the use of Brattle Street Church, then recently built, and the pride of the town. He gives a sigh of relief as he records the fact that the necessity of taking down the pillars, and thus endangering the safety of the building, was all that saved the church from being used as a riding-school. It was used as a barrack. The West Church was used for barracks, and its steeple pulled down for firewood.[2] The North Church, built of wood, was pulled down for the same reason. The Federal Street Meeting-house was filled with hay. The Hollis Street Church was used for barracks. The Liberty Tree was cut

[1] Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, p. 328. [2] [Shown in the frontispiece of this volume. — ED.]

down amidst the jibes and taunts of the soldiers and Tories, who had not forgotten its almost personal symbolism. The most distinguished citizen who remained was the Rev. Andrew Eliot, who shared the ministerial work chiefly with Drs. Mather and Byles.[1] He was detained much against his will, but spent his time in service of the poor and sick. The Thursday Lecture gave way near the end of the siege; and Dr. Eliot notes in his diary, —

"November 30 [1775]. Preached T. L. *Coetus vere parva.* The attendance of this lecture being exceedingly small, and our work greatly increased in other respects, Dr. Mather and I, who, since the departure of our other Brethren, had preached it



THE LIBERTY TREE.[2]

alternately, thought proper to lay it down for the present. I preached the last sermon from those words in Rev. 2, 'Remember how thou hast received,' etc. An affecting occasion of laying down a lecture which had subsisted more than 140 years. The small congregation was much moved at the conclusion."

[1] [See Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] [This cut follows another given in Snow's *Boston*, p. 266. The tree stood at the southeast corner of Washington and Essex streets; and a representation of it, carved in wood, now adorns a building erected on its site by the late David Sears. The tree was felled by a party led by Job Williams, and it made fourteen cords of wood. A British soldier was killed at the time, while trying to remove one of the limbs. A soliloquy in verse, published at the time in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1776, gives the Tory view of the case. It is reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876, p. 270. A pole was fastened in the tree; and the remnants of the flag used in 1775 are said to be owned by H. C. Fernald, and have been exhibited in the Old South Loan Collection. On the stump which remained a liberty-pole was erected after the war, and this was replaced by another, July 2, 1826. In 1833 Liberty-Tree Tavern stood upon the spot. Tudor's *Otis*, p. 221; Drake, *Landmarks*, p. 397; *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 160; Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead*, Nos. 41 and 42. — ED.]

The public schools were dispersed; Master Lovell, of the Latin school, casting in his lot with the Crown, while his son James, an usher in the same school, was thrown into prison under suspicion of being a spy, and carried off in chains by the army with which his father decamped as a Loyalist. One solitary school was kept gratuitously by Mr. Elias Dupee. The only other educational offer seems to have been that of Daniel McAlpine, who had been for some years established "to instruct all lovers of the noble science of defence, commonly called the back-sword, in that art."

It was dull work for the officers and ladies and gentlemen to stay cooped up in the two little peninsulas through the dismal winter, their eyes and ears assailed by the forlorn condition of the inhabitants. But no doubt there was some bravery of appearances; and the society which was lighted and warmed by scarlet coats was driven in upon itself pretty rigorously.[1] For half a century and more after this time there lived in Boston two maiden ladies, daughters of Dr. Mather Byles, who stoutly maintained to the last their loyalty to the Crown of England. They had been girls during the siege, and the war passed only to find them unflinching British subjects in will. They entertained visitors, who still remember them, with talks of the gallantry shown them by General Howe and Lord Percy during the winter of 1775–76; how they promenaded with these great men on the Common; and how Lord Percy serenaded them with the regimental band.[2] In the train of

[1] [Among other divertisements to relieve the weary hours of the siege, was their burlesquing some intercepted letters of John Adams to James Warren: "A paraphrase upon the second epistle of John the Roundhead to James the Prolocutor of the Rump Parliament." See *Works* of John Adams, i. 180; *Familiar Letters*, pp. 85, 101, 116. — Ed.]

[2] [An account of the tribulations of Dr. Byles, written by his daughter, Catharine Byles (for which we are indebted to Mr. George Hedrick, of Lowell), runs thus: —

"Oct. 13, 1778.

"Upon the first opening of the town, the people, among whom my father had officiated for forty-three years, had an irregular meeting, and desired his attendance; when a charge of his attachment to government was read, of which, as he never could obtain a copy, I am unable to give an exact account. Among others were included his friendly disposition to the British troops, particularly his entertaining them at his house, indulging them with his telescope, &c.; his prayers for the King, and for the preservation of the town during the siege. Some time after this a few lines were sent him, informing that six weeks before (without so much as the advice of any Council) he had been dismissed from his pastoral charge. Thus they left him without any support, or so much as paying his arrears, so that from the 19th of April, 1775, to this day, he has received no assistance from them. They then repaired the church, which had been occupied as a barrack for the British army, and made choice of a new pastor. In May, 1777, at a town-meeting, he was mentioned as a person inimical to America; a warrant was served and bonds given for his appearance the 2d of June, for a trial, when, as they expressed it, 'after a candid and impartial examination,' he was brought in Guilty, confined to his house and land, and a guard placed to prevent the visits of his friends; and (except the removal of the guard, which was in about two months) in this confinement has he remained ever since; and had it not been for the generous assistance of his benevolent friends, he must inevitably have suffered.

"Miss [*obscured*] presents her most respectful compliments to Mrs. [*obscured*], and, knowing her benevolence of heart, begs leave to commit the foregoing pages to her care, wishing that the particulars mentioned in this little account may thro' Mrs. [*obscured*] hands be conveyed to her humane connections."

In *Massachusetts Archives*, "Royalist," i. p. 124, is a warrant from the court, dated June 2, 1777, to deliver Mather Byles to the Board of

these great acts of gallantry must have followed similar displays; and we can easily catch sight of British officers parading on the Mall with Tory ladies. A new regiment arrived from England in December, and the *News-Letter* chirped at mention of the excellent band it brought, with promise of a concert for the diversion of the town. When the new year set in, a series of subscription balls was announced, to be held at Concert Hall once a fortnight.[1] The last ball at the Province House was the Queen's ball, given, oddly enough, on the twenty-second of February.[2] The festival of St. John the Evangelist was duly celebrated by a dinner at Freemasons' Hall, a march to Brattle Street, and an appropriate sermon; but there is no mention of any public festivity at Christmas.

Faneuil Hall, by a satirical retribution, was turned into a theatre, and the officers and other amateurs declaimed tragedy where the townsmen had held meetings of equal dramatic force and more reality of meaning. A number of officers and ladies formed a Society for Promoting Theatrical Amusements, a title which seems to give a certain solemnity to the proceedings; and they did this, the announcement frankly stated, for their own amusement and the benevolent purpose of contributing to the relief of distressed soldiers, their widows and children. The performances began at six o'clock. The entrance fee was not immoderate, — one dollar for the pit, and a quarter of a dollar for the gallery. The surplus over the expenses was to be appropriated to the relief of poor soldiers. The play must have been very popular, for the managers were obliged to announce, after a few evenings, —

"The managers will have the house strictly surveyed, and give out tickets for the number it will contain. The most positive orders are given out not to take money at the door; and it is hoped gentlemen of the army will not use their influence over the sergeants who are door-keepers to induce them to disobey that order, as it is meant entirely to promote the ease and convenience of the public by not crowding the theatre."

The tragedy of *Zara* seems to have been the favorite; and the comedy of *The Busybody*, with the farces of *The Citizen* and *The Apprentice*, were also given. The most notable piece was the local farce of *The Blockade of Boston*, by General Burgoyne.[3] On the evening of January 8 it was to

War for transportation "off the continent." There are in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library two plans of the estate of Dr. Mather Byles, made in 1832, showing how one corner of the mansion projected into the line of the present Tremont Street, opposite Nassau (now Common) Street. See Vol. II. p. xxxix, and Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[1] [The *News-Letter* of Feb. 22, 1776, contained a notice of a masquerade to be given at Concert Hall, March 11, and of "a number of different masks to be sold by almost all the milliners and mantua-makers in town." "Ten capital cooks were already engaged," it was said, for "the most brilliant thing ever seen in America." — ED.]

[2] [John Andrews records "an innovation never before known, — a Drum or Rout, given by the admiral last Saturday evening, which did not break up till 2 or 3 o'ck on Sunday morning, their chief amusement being playing cards." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865, p. 323. — ED.]

[3] Burgoyne was proud of his literary performances, of which a full account is given in chapter ix. of De Fonblanque's *Political and Military Episodes in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, derived from the Life and Correspon-*

be given for the first time. The comedy of *The Busybody* had been acted, and the curtain was about to be drawn for the farce, when the actors behind the scenes heard an exaggerated report of a raid made upon Charlestown by a small party of Americans. One of the actors, dressed for his part (that of a Yankee sergeant), came forward upon the stage, called silence, and informed the audience that the alarm guns had been fired, and that a battle was going on in Charlestown. The audience, taking this for the first scene in the new farce, applauded obstreperously, being determined to get all the fun there was to be had out of the piece, when the order was suddenly given in dead earnest for the officers to return to their posts. The audience at this was thrown into dire confusion, the officers jumping over the orchestra, breaking the fiddles on the way; the actors rushing about to get rid of their paint and disguises; the ladies alternately fainting and screaming; and the play brought to great grief and summary conclusion. Whether it was ever given again or not does not appear; but the *News-Letter*, in reporting the incident, announced that "as soon as those parts in *The Boston Blockade*, which are vacant by some gentlemen being ordered to Charlestown, can be filled up, that farce will be performed, with the tragedy of *Tamerlane*."[1]

There was no demonstration of patriotism within the town. The *News-Letter*, a complete file of which during the siege is scarcely known, copies in its issue for July 13, from one of the outside papers, a notice by William Cooper the town clerk, calling upon the dispersed freemen of Boston to meet at Concord, in order to choose a representative to the General Court, and adds, mockingly: "Some have been wondering of late at the peaceableness of this town. It is to be hoped that their surprise will now cease, when they find that Mr. Cooper and the rest of our town-meeting folks have adjourned to Concord."[2]

dence of the Right Honorable John Burgoyne; but of his *jeux d'esprits* at this time only a few lines of a prologue and epilogue to *Zara* have been saved. His farce was probably never printed, and efforts to recover it have never, so far as I know, succeeded. After the siege, a literary revenge was taken by an anonymous writer in the farce of *The Blockheads; or the Affrighted Officers*, a not over nice production, which jeers at the situation of officers and refugees when forced to evacuate the town. The characters are —

Captain Bashard		Ad—l.
Puff		G—l.
L—d Dapper	Officers	L—d P—y.
Shallow	Officers	G—t.
Dupe	Officers	Who you please.
Meagre	Refugees and Friends to Government	G—y.
Surly	Refugees and Friends to Government	R—s.
Brigadier Paunch	Refugees and Friends to Government	B—e.
Bowny	Refugees and Friends to Government	M—y.
Simple	Refugees and Friends to Government	E—n.
Jemima, wife to Simple.		
Tabitha, her daughter.		
Dorsa, her maid.		
Soldiers, women, etc.		

It is not difficult to supply the hiatus to the names, and read Lord Percy, Gilbert (Burgoyne perhaps is "Dupe"), Gray, Ruggles, Brattle, Murray, and Edson. Lord Percy is represented as a libertine, and there is some attempt at characterizing the several Loyalists. Brattle had the reputation of being a good liver, and Ruggles of being a rough-spoken man; but the hits in the piece were more telling to those closer to the characters in time. In the prologue are the lines —

"By Yankees frighted, too! Oh, dire to say!
Why, Yankees sure at Red-coats faint away!
Oh, yes! they thought so too, for lackaday,
Their general turned the *blockade* to a play.
Poor vain poltroons, with justice we'll retort,
And call them blockheads for their idle sport."

[See Colonel Clapp's chapter on the "Drama in Boston," in Vol. IV. — ED.]

[1] [See Dr. Hale's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

[2] [Of the *News-Letter*, see the account in Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume; and regarding Cooper, see a note by the editor in Mr. Porter's chapter, also in the present volume. — ED.]

Before the town had been finally purged, however, some of the bolder kept up a communication with their friends outside, by means of signals from the church steeples. "About three weeks ago," a letter-writer of July 25 says, "three fellows were taken out of one of the latter [steeples], who confess they had been so employed for seven days." The altercations between townsmen and soldiers had ceased; the town was under strict military discipline; and though the selectmen were not allowed to leave, it does not appear that there was any government except that administered by the General of the army. With his immediate command of fourteen thousand or so, inclusive of women and children attached to the soldiery, General Howe treated the place as a garrison, and gave great attention to the health of the troops; but the records show that he had a somewhat turbulent and unruly set of men to manage.[1] The large number of deserted houses, the destruction of others for fuel, the defenceless condition of the families of Patriots who had left the town,—all conspired to tempt plundering and depredation. In one case the wife of one of the privates, convicted of receiving stolen goods, was sentenced "to receive one hundred lashes on her bare back with a cat-o'-nine-tails, at the cart's tail, in different portions of the most conspicuous parts of the town, and to be imprisoned three months." The small-pox broke out both in the army and among the inhabitants, and was still ravaging the town when it was taken possession of by Washington, after the evacuation.

The evacuation itself was so suddenly determined on that for a few days the town was in a distracted condition, and the lawlessness which had been suppressed by the military arm broke out again almost unchecked. For ten days there was sleepless anxiety. The army was embarking and carrying away such stores as it could, destroying much that it must leave; plunder was going on on all sides, both with and without authority; and as the day drew nearer for the departure of the troops the excesses increased,[2] in spite of the following order from General Howe: —

"The commander-in-chief finding, notwithstanding former orders that have been given to forbid plundering, houses have been forced open and robbed, he is therefore under a necessity of declaring to the troops that the first soldier who is caught plundering will be hanged on the spot."

John Andrews, who was a very interested witness, gives a vivid account of his personal anxiety during the last hours of the British possession: [3] —

"By the earnest persuasion of your uncle's friends, and with the advice of the selectmen, I moved into his house at the time the troops, etc., were preparing for embarkation, under every difficulty you can conceive at such a time, as every day presented us with new scenes of the wantonness and destruction made by the soldiers.

[1] [This is apparent from the orders, and from the reiteration of them, with the constant threats of corporal punishment. See *Waller's Orderly-book*. — ED.]

[2] [The British soldiers cut down several of the finest trees on the Mall, on the day of their evacuating the town. — ED.]

[3] [*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1865, p. 409. — ED.]

I had the care of six houses with their furniture, and as many stores filled with effects, for eleven months past; and, at a time like this, I underwent more fatigue and perplexity than I did through the whole siege; for I was obliged to take my rounds all day, without any cessation, and scarce ever failed of finding depredations made upon some one or other of them, that I was finally necessitated to procure men, at the extravagant rate of two dollars a day, to sleep in the several houses and stores for a fortnight before the military plunderers went off; for as sure as they were left alone one night, so sure they were plundered. Poor Ben, in addition to his other misfortunes, suffered in this: the fellow who took charge of his house neglected to sleep there the third night, being affrighted; the consequence was, a party of soldiers got in, went into his cellar, took liquors from thence, and had a revelling frolic in his parlor; carried off and destroyed his furniture, etc., to the value of two hundred pounds sterling, — which was not to be named with what fifty other houses suffered, or I may say a hundred. I was obliged to pay at the rate of a dollar an hour for hands to assist me in moving. Such was the demand for laborers that they were taken from me even at that, by the Tories, who bid over me, for the sake of carrying away *other people's* effects, wherever they could come at them, which so retarded my moving that I was obliged to leave my kitchen furniture in the house I left; consequently it was broken open and rummaged, and, with all my crockery, were carried off. Wat has stripped your uncle's house of everything he could conveniently carry off, which, had I known that had been his intention, I would by no means have consented to go into it; but as I had moved most of my heavy things while he was preparing to go, it was too late for me to get off when I discovered it. Your Uncle Jerry was almost frantic about it, and said he should write his brother, and acquaint him that I was knowing to it, and yet permitted him to do it; little thinking that it was not in my power to prevent his carrying off everything if he was disposed to do it, as I only took charge of the house as his (Wat's) substitute. He has left all the looking-glasses and window-curtains, with some tables and most of the chairs; only two bedsteads and one bed, without any bedding or sheets, or even a rag of linen of any kind. Some of the china, and principal part of the pewter, is the sum of what he has left, save the library, which was packed up corded to ship; but your Uncle Jerry and Mr. Austin went to him, and absolutely forbid it on his peril. He treated them in a very rough, cavalier way; told them they had no right to interfere with his business, — he should do as he pleased, and would not hear what they had to say. Upon the whole, I don't know but what it would have been as well if he had taken them, seeing matters are going to be carried with so high a hand."

Through all this family business and the confusion of narrative one may get a glimpse of the distractions and bitterness of the Tory hegira. "Nothing can be more diverting," says an amateur dramatist, "than to see the town in its present situation. All is uproar and confusion; carts, trucks, wheelbarrows, handbarrows, coaches, chaises, are driving as if the very devil was after them."[1] The return, piecemeal, of the clocks, chests of drawers, tables, and chairs, which then emigrated to the Provinces, continues to this day.

It is interesting to observe, as one of the first signs of the return of Boston to its independent life, that the Thursday Lecture was revived; and Dr. Eliot

[1] "The Blockheads," Act iii. Scene 3.

delivered the first as a thanksgiving discourse in the presence of His Excellency, General Washington. Shortly after, a town-meeting was held in the Old Brick Meeting-house, and officers for the year were chosen as usual. The town-meeting and the church were the spiritual Boston which asserted itself before commercial and trading Boston had revived. The town felt its insecurity. No one knew how soon the enemy might return with increased force and more strenuous measures, and it was only by degrees that the people returned and resumed their occupations. On April 19 the shops remained generally closed. "The town yet looks melancholy," writes Ezekiel Price in his diary, under that day; "but few of the inhabitants being removed back into it, occasioned by its not being sufficiently fortified and garrisoned against any further attempt of the enemy, to which it now lies much exposed." It is significant of the growing consciousness of the historic conflict, that he adds: "This day is the anniversary of the famous battle of Lexington." [1]

The Revolutionary War did not again make Boston a theatre of action; but the town was subjected to at least one panic.[2] It was not till the close of the period that the people saw anything of military pageant. Then they welcomed the entry of Rochambeau's forces after the battle of Yorktown, and the harbor was bright with the flags of the French fleet. The visit of these famous allies was the occasion of a general rejoicing. The war was over, and the people asked for no better opportunity for an outburst of hospitality. Sam Adams called a town-meeting, and with James Sullivan prepared an address from Boston to Baron Vioménil, the chief officer; Rochambeau himself having embarked elsewhere.[3] But during the period

[1] Diary of Ezekiel Price in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, November, 1863.

[2] Mrs. John Adams, writing to her husband under date of Aug. 5, 1777, says: "If alarming half-a-dozen places at the same time is an act of generalship, Howe may boast of his late conduct. We have never, since the evacuation of Boston, been under apprehensions of an invasion equal to what we suffered last week. All Boston was in confusion, packing up and carting out of town household furniture, military stores, goods, etc. Not less than a thousand teams were employed on Friday and Saturday; and, to their shame be it told, not a small trunk would they carry under eight dollars, and many of them, I am told, asked a hundred dollars a load; for carting a hogshead of molasses eight miles, thirty dollars. O human nature! or, rather, O inhuman nature! what art thou? The report of the fleet's being seen off Cape Ann, Friday night, gave me the alarm, and, though pretty weak, I set about packing up my things, and on Saturday removed a load."—*Familiar Letters of John Adams, and his wife Abigail Adams, during the Revolution*, p. 287.

[Three years later there was another period of suspense. In 1780, Arthur Lee writes from Paris to the committee of foreign correspondence: "February 3. An expedition, with ten thousand of the enemy's best troops, will take place in about two months, from Ireland. Altho' from the profound secrecy observed I have not yet been able to discover its destination with certainty, yet I have sufficient reason to think that Boston is the object of it."—ED.]

[3] [The artillery were the earliest to reach Boston, arriving on November 18. Rochambeau, who had accompanied the army to Providence, here transferred the command of it to the Baron de Vioménil, and returned to the Chesapeake and embarked. The main body of the army reached Boston on December 3, 4, and 5, being favored with fair weather. On the twenty-third Vioménil went on board the "Triomphant," and on the twenty-fourth the whole squadron, ten sail in all, mounting seven hundred and fifty-eight guns and carrying four thousand men, put to sea. (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1881.) The address of the citizens of Boston to Vioménil, adopted at a meeting held December 7, and his reply, are reprinted in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1881, p. 32, from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Jan. 8, 1783. See also an account of these proceedings in Drake's *Landmarks of Boston*, 433.—ED.]

from 1776 to 1783 there were occasional visits from French vessels, and the reports made by Frenchmen who received the hospitality of the town give a hint of the social life of the period. The Frenchmen themselves were objects of great curiosity. Mr. Breck says in his entertaining *Recollections :* —

"Before the Revolution the colonists had little or no communication with France, so that Frenchmen were known to them only through the prejudiced medium of England. Every vulgar story told by John Bull about Frenchmen living on salad and frogs was implicitly believed by Brother Jonathan, even by men of education and the first standing in society. When, therefore, the first French squadron arrived at Boston [in 1778], the whole town, most of whom had never seen a Frenchman, ran to the wharves to catch a peep at the gaunt, half-starved, *soup-maigre* crews.

AUTOGRAPHS OF FRENCH OFFICERS.

How much were my good townsmen astonished when they beheld plump, portly officers and strong, vigorous sailors ! They could scarcely credit the thing, apparent as it was. Did these hearty-looking people belong to the lantern-jawed, spindle-shank race of *mounseers ?* In a little while they became convinced that they had been deceived as to their personal appearance ; but they knew, notwithstanding their good looks, that they were no better than frog-eaters, because they had been discovered hunting them in the noted Frog-pond at the bottom of the Common. With this notion in his head, Mr. Nathaniel Tracy, who lived in a beautiful villa at Cambridge,[1] made a great feast for the admiral, Count D'Estaing, and his officers. Everything was furnished that could be had in the country to ornament and give variety to the entertainment. My father was one of the guests, and told me often after that two large tureens of soup were placed at the ends of the table. The admiral sat on the right of Tracy, and Monsieur de l'Etombe on the left. L'Etombe was consul of France, resident at Boston. Tracy filled a plate with soup which went to the admiral, and the next was handed to the consul. As soon as L'Etombe put his spoon into his plate he fished up a large frog, just as green and perfect as if he had hopped from the pond into

[1] [The Craigie or Longfellow house. — ED.]

the tureen. Not knowing at first what it was, he seized it by one of its hind legs, and, holding it up in view of the whole company, discovered that it was a full-grown frog. As soon as he had thoroughly inspected it, and made himself sure of the matter, he exclaimed: 'Ah! mon Dieu! une grenouille!' then, turning to the gentleman next to him, gave him the frog. He received it and passed it round the table. Thus the poor *crapaud* made the tour from hand to hand until it reached the admiral. The company, convulsed with laughter, examined the soup plates as the servants brought them, and in each was to be found a frog. The uproar was universal. Meantime Tracy kept his ladle going, wondering what his outlandish guests meant by such extravagant merriment. 'What 's the matter?' asked he, and, raising his head, surveyed the frogs dangling by a leg in all directions. 'Why don't they eat them?' he exclaimed. 'If they knew the confounded trouble I had to catch them, in order to treat them to a dish of their own country, they would find that, with me at least, it was no joking matter.' Thus was poor Tracy deceived by vulgar prejudice and common report. He meant to regale his distinguished guests with refined hospitality, and had caused all the swamps of Cambridge to be searched, in order to furnish them with a generous supply of what he believed to be, in France, a standing national dish." [1]

Mr. Breck's father was agent for the French, and is the "Mr. Brick" whose name occurs so often in that part of the Marquis de Chastellux's *Travels in North America* which relates to Boston. This traveller, who was an officer in the French army, reached Boston during the stay there of Baron de Vioménil; and his record, while it gives little description of the town, intimates that the hospitality extended to the French was unremitting. He had scarcely arrived in town before he was hurried off to the Association ball, where he took notice of the general awkwardness of the Boston dancers. The ladies he thought well dressed, but with less elegance and refinement than those whom he had met at Philadelphia. His visit was filled with a series of calls and entertainments; and among them he notes a club: —

"This assembly is held every Tuesday, in rotation, at the houses of the different members who compose it; this was the day for Mr. Russell, an honest merchant, who gave us an excellent reception. The laws of the club are not straitening, the number of dishes for supper alone are limited, and there must be only two of meat, — for supper is not the American repast. Vegetables, pies, and especially good wine, are not spared. The hour of assembling is after tea, when the company play at cards, converse, and read the public papers; and sit down to table between nine and ten. The supper was as free as if there had been no strangers. Songs were given at table, and a Mr. Stewart sung some which were very gay, with a tolerable good voice."

A little further on he says: —

"They made me play at whist, for the first time since my arrival in America. The cards were English, that is, much handsomer and dearer than ours; and we marked our points with louis-d'ors, or six-and-thirties. When the party was finished, the loss

[1] *Recollections of Samuel Breck, with passages from his note-book*, pp. 24–27.

was not difficult to settle; for the company was still faithful to that voluntary law established in society from the commencement of the troubles, which prohibited playing for money during the war. The inhabitants of Boston are fond of high play, and it is fortunate perhaps that the war happened when it did, to moderate this passion, which began to be attended with dangerous consequences."

Political clubs had long been active in Boston, and social clubs were now springing up. From 1777 dates the Wednesday Evening Club, which has maintained ever since an unbroken succession.[1]

Another French traveller, the Abbé Robin, who preceded Chastellux, has left an account of Boston in 1781, which deals more with the external features of the town: —

"The inside of the town does not at all lessen the idea that is formed by an exterior prospect. A superb wharf has been carried out above two thousand feet into the sea, and is broad enough for stores and workshops through the whole of its extent; it communicates at right angles with the principal street of the town, which is both large and spacious, and bends in a curve parallel to the harbor. This street is ornamented with elegant buildings, for the most part two or three stories high, and many other streets terminate in this, communicating with it on each side. The form and construction of the houses would surprise an European eye; they are built of brick and wood, not in the clumsy and melancholy taste of our ancient European towns, but regularly, and well provided with windows and doors. The wooden work, or frame, is light, covered on the outside with thin boards, well planed, and lapped over each other as we do tiles on our roofs in France. These buildings are generally painted with a pale white color, which renders the prospect much more pleasing than it would otherwise be; the roofs are set off with balconies, doubtless for the more ready extinguishing of fire; the whole is supported by a wall of about a foot high; it is easy to see how great an advantage these houses have over ours in point of neatness and salubrity. All the parts of these buildings are so well joined, and their weight is so equally divided and proportionate to their bulk, that they may be removed from place to place with little difficulty. I have seen one of two stories high removed above a quarter of a mile, if not more, from its original situation; and the whole French army have seen the same thing done at Newport. What they tell us of the travelling habitations of the Scythians is far less wonderful. Their household furniture is simple, but made of choice wood, after the English fashion, which renders its appearance less gay; their floors are covered with handsome carpets, or printed cloths, but others sprinkle them with fine sand.

"This city is supposed to contain about six thousand houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants;[2] there are nineteen churches for the several sects here, all of them convenient, and several finished with taste and elegance, especially those of the Presbyterians and the Church of England; their form is generally a long square, ornamented with a pulpit, and furnished with pews of a similar fabrication throughout. The poor

[1] [*The Centennial Celebration of the Wednesday Evening Club, Instituted June* 21, 1777, *Boston*, 1878, gives the story of its career. — ED.]

[2] The Abbé's arithmetic is as wild as some of his generalizing. In 1789 there were, by actual count, two thousand six hundred and thirty-nine dwelling-houses, stores, and public buildings, exclusive of distilleries, sugar-houses, rope-walks, mechanics' shops, and stables. (See 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ix. 204-222.) The population in 1783 did not exceed eighteen thousand, and remained stationary for several years.

as well as the rich hear the word of God in these places, in a convenient and decent posture of body. Sunday is observed with the utmost strictness; all business, how important soever, is then totally at a stand, and the most innocent recreations and pleasures prohibited.[1] Boston, that populous town, where at other times there is such a hurry of business, is on this day a mere desert; you may walk the streets without meeting a single person, or if by chance you meet one, you scarcely dare to stop and talk with him. A Frenchman that lodged with me took it into his head to play on the flute on Sundays for his amusement; the people upon hearing it were greatly enraged, collected in crowds round the house, and would have carried matters to extremity in a short time with the musician, had not the landlord given him warning of his danger, and forced him to desist.[2] Upon this day of melancholy you cannot go into a house but you find the whole family employed in reading the Bible; and indeed it is an affecting sight to see the father of a family surrounded by his household, hearing him explain the sublime truths of this sacred volume. Nobody fails here of going to the place of worship appropriated to his sect. In these places there reigns a profound silence; an order and respect is also observable which has not been seen for a long time in our Catholic churches. Their psalmody is grave and majestic; and the harmony of the poetry, in their national tongue, adds a grace to the music, and contributes greatly toward keeping up the attention of the worshippers. . . .

"Piety is not the only motive that brings the American ladies in crowds to the various places of worship. Deprived of all shows and public diversions whatever, the church is the grand theatre where they attend to display their extravagance and finery. There they come dressed off in the finest silks, and overshadowed with a profusion of the most superb plumes. The hair of the head is raised and supported upon cushions to an extravagant height, somewhat resembling the manner in which the French ladies wore their hair some years ago. Instead of powdering, they often wash the head, which answers the purpose well enough, as their hair is commonly of an agreeable light color; but the more fashionable among them begin now to adopt the present European method of setting off the head to the best advantage. They are of a large size, well proportioned, their features generally regular, and their complexion fair, without ruddiness. They have less cheerfulness and ease of behavior than the ladies of France, but more of greatness and dignity. I have even imagined that I have seen something in them that answers to the idea of beauty we gain from those master-pieces of the artists of antiquity, which are yet extant in our days.

[1] [Mr. Charles Deane points out to the Editor some satirical lines on the "Boston Sabbath," printed in the *Newport News-Letter*, May 19, 1761, of which a few are: —

> "Six days, said He (and loud the same expressed),
> Shall men still labour; on the seventh rest:
> But here, alas! in this great pious Town,
> They annul his law, and thus prefer their own.
>
> Five days and half shall men, and women too,
> Attend their business and their mirth pursue.
> One day and half 'tis requisite to rest
> From toilsome labour and a luscious feast."

The beginning of Sunday observance on Saturday at sunset has obtained in New England country towns down to a recent day, if indeed this custom is yet wholly disused. — ED.]

[2] [It is pertinent to consider that perhaps no small part of this aversion arose from the commingling, in the common mind, of Papist and Frenchman. The time had not far gone by when, under the stress of the French and Indian wars, no foreigner could sojourn in Boston without being a suspected French spy; and if a Frenchman, a Papist. There were those still living who could remember when Governor Belcher issued the warrant, March 17, 1731, now preserved in the Charity Building, directing the sheriff of Suffolk to search for Papists who joined with their priest speedily designed to celebrate mass; and, if need be, to break open any dwelling-house, etc. Accompanying this warrant is a list of such Papists in Boston, largely men-servants, etc. — ED.]

The stature of the men is tall, and their carriage erect, but their make is rather slim, and their color inclining to pale; they are not so curious in their dress as the women, but everything upon them is neat and proper. At twenty-five years of age the women begin to lose the bloom and freshness of youth; and at thirty-five or forty, their beauty is gone. The decay of the men is equally premature; and I am inclined to think that life itself is here proportionably short. I visited all the burying-grounds in Boston, where it is usual to inscribe upon the stone over each grave the name and age of the deceased, and found that few who had arrived to a state of manhood ever advanced beyond their fiftieth year; fewer still to seventy; and beyond that scarcely any."

The picture of Boston given by the French travellers of this time, as indeed most of the representations of America then from the same sources, have an air of insincerity about them, as if written by men preoccupied with notions as to the virginal character of American nature and society. The people of Boston themselves were, during the progress of the war and immediately afterward, in a restless, semi-violent condition, demoralized by the sudden changes of fortune which befell merchants, and by the inequalities of life resultant upon war and disturbed relations. Sam Adams, always a democrat in principle and a *doctrinaire* in poverty, was indignant at the display of wealth made by Hancock and others. He frowned upon the increasing extravagance and levity of the town;[1] and he resorted to his favorite method of holding public meetings in rebuke of the temper, but with little avail. Minot the historian gives, in a few words, the general character of the change at work in society: —

"The usual consequences of war were conspicuous upon the habits of the people of Massachusetts. Those of the maritime towns relapsed into the voluptuousness which arises from the precarious wealth of naval adventurers. An emulation prevailed among men of fortune to exceed each other in the full display of their riches. This was imitated among the less opulent classes of citizens, and drew them off from those principles of diligence and economy which constitute the best support of all governments, and particularly of the republican. Besides which, what was most to be lamented, the discipline and manners of the army had vitiated the taste and relaxed the industry of the yeomen. In this disposition of the people to indulge the use of luxuries, and in the exhausted state of the country, the merchants saw a market for foreign manufactures. The political character of America, standing in a respectable view abroad, gave a confidence and credit to individuals heretofore unknown. This credit was improved, and goods were imported to a much greater amount than could be consumed and paid for."[2]

The most conspicuous person in this display of wealth and state was undoubtedly John Hancock, — a good-natured, vain man, with excellent qualities which his contemporaries perceived, but which have been obscured by his inordinate conceit and love of extreme distinction. John Adams observed with satisfaction Hancock's chagrin at finding himself subordinated to the Virginian, Washington, at the beginning of the contest, when Han-

[1] See Wells, *Life of Samuel Adams*, iii. 157–159. [2] *Insurrections in Massachusetts*, p. 12.

cock's reputation was quite as general as Washington's; but he lets us also see the sincere good-nature and fundamental humility with which he bore his lesser rank. Among his own townsmen the rich Bostonian dearly loved to make himself of importance. "King Hancock" was the sobriquet which he earned, and he was a constant butt for Tory wits.[1] In the *Pennsylvania Ledger* for March 11, 1778, "a gentleman from the eastward" says: —

"John Hancock of Boston appears in public with all the pageantry and state of an Oriental prince; he rides in an elegant chariot, which was taken in a prize to the 'Civil Usage' pirate vessel, and by the owners presented to him. He is attended by four servants dressed in superb livery, mounted on fine horses richly caparisoned; and escorted by fifty horsemen with drawn sabres, the one-half of whom precede and the other follow his carriage."[2]

A good observer writes in 1780: —

"Boston affords nothing new but complaints upon complaints. I have been credibly informed that a person who used to live well has been obliged to take the feathers out of his bed and sell them to an upholsterer to get money to buy bread. Many doubtless are exceedingly distressed; and yet, such is the infatuation of the day, that the rich, regardless of the necessities of the poor, are more luxurious and extravagant than formerly.[3] Boston exceeds even Tyre; for not only are her merchants princes, but even her tavern-keepers are gentlemen. May it not be more tolerable for Tyre than for her! There can be no surer sign of a decay of morals than the tavern-keepers growing rich fast."[4]

We have but scanty personal recollections preserved of this period relating to the common life within the town, and must have recourse again to the good-natured Mr. Breck, who piques us by forgetting more important things than he remembered. His childhood was spent in Boston; and he remembered well the old beacon which stood on the hill, and was blown down in 1789: —

"Spokes were fixed in a large mast, on the top of which was placed a barrel of pitch or tar, always ready to be fired on the approach of the enemy. Around this pole I have fought many battles, as a South End boy,[5] against the boys of the North End of the town; and bloody ones, too, with slings and stones very skilfully and earnestly used. In what a state of semi-barbarism did the rising generations of those days exist! From time immemorial these hostilities were carried on by the juvenile part of the community. The school-masters whipt, parents scolded, — nothing could check it. Was it a remnant of the pugilistic propensities of our British ancestors; or was it an untamed feeling arising from our sequestered and colonial situation? Whatever was the cause, every-

[1] [See further on Hancock in Mr. Porter's and Mr. Lodge's chapters. — ED.]

[2] Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, ii. 11, 12. The "gentleman from the eastward" appears to have been the ancestor of the similar character who, during the late war, was always coming away from the front.

[3] [It is said that Hancock issued his invitations to a ball given by him at Concert Hall, in November, 1780, printed on the back of playing-cards, — showing scarcity in other things than the necessaries of life. — ED.]

[4] Hazard to Belknap, 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 47.

[5] Mr. Breck's house was on Tremont Street, at the corner of Winter Street; and this shows how local appellations have changed.

thing of the kind ceased with the termination of our Revolutionary War. . . . I forget on what holiday it was that the Anticks, another exploded remnant of colonial manners, used to perambulate the town. They have ceased to do it now; but I remember them as late as 1782. They were a set of the lowest blackguards, who, disguised in filthy clothes and ofttimes with masked faces, went from house to house in large companies; and, *bon gré, mal gré*, obtruding themselves everywhere, particularly into the rooms that were occupied by parties of ladies and gentlemen, would demean themselves with great insolence. I have seen them at my father's, when his assembled friends were at cards, take possession of a table, seat themselves on rich furniture, and proceed to handle the cards, to the great annoyance of the company. The only way to get rid of them was to give them money, and listen patiently to a foolish dialogue between two or more of them. One of them would cry out: —

"'Ladies and gentlemen sitting by the fire,
Put your hands in your pockets and give us our desire.'

When this was done, and they had received some money, a kind of acting took place. One fellow was knocked down and lay sprawling on the carpet, while another bellowed out: —

"'See, there he lies!
But ere he dies,
A doctor must be had.'

He calls for a doctor, who soon appears, and enacts the part so well that the wounded man revives. In this way they would continue for half an hour; and it happened not unfrequently that the house would be filled by another gang when these had departed. There was no refusing admittance. Custom had licensed these vagabonds to enter even by force any place they chose. What should we say to such intruders now? Our manners would not brook such usage a moment. Undoubtedly these plays were a remnant of the old mysteries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1]

"Connected with this subject and period may be mentioned the inhuman and revolting custom of punishing criminals in the open street. The large whipping-post, painted red, stood conspicuously and permanently in the most public street in town. It was placed in State Street,[2] directly under the windows of a great writing-school which I frequented, and from them the scholars were indulged in the spectacle of all kinds of punishment, suited to harden their hearts and brutalize their feelings. Here

[1] Since the publication of Breck's *Recollections* a correspondent has called the Editor's attention to the probable origin of this horse-play. In Hervey's *Book of Christmas*, a Cornwall mystery is given by Mr. Sandys as "still performed in Cornwall;" at the date, that is, of 1786. In this *Mystery* several characters, as the Turkish Knight, the King of Egypt, St. George, the Dragon, Father Christmas, and others, enter by turn. When Father Christmas enters, he says:

"Here come I, old Father Christmas!
Welcome, or welcome not;
I hope old Father Christmas
Will never be forgot.
I come not here to laugh or jeer,
But for a pocketful of money and a skinful of beer."

St. George and the Dragon fight, and the latter is killed. Father Christmas calls out:

"Is there a doctor to be found,
All ready near at hand,
To cure a deep and deadly wound,
And make the champion stand?"

The doctor appears, performs his cure, the fight is renewed, and the dragon again killed.

The scraps of this performance, as given by Mr. Breck, do seem to be a reminiscence of this West-of-England Mystery; and it appears as if some of the townspeople from that section had brought with them a rude sport which died out in the more active, stirring life of the town.

[2] [The whipping-post was later removed to Tremont Street, near the West Street gate.—ED.]

women were taken from a huge cage in which they were dragged on wheels from prison, and tied to the post, with bare backs, on which thirty or forty lashes were bestowed, amid the screams of the culprits and the uproar of the mob. A little farther in the street was to be seen the pillory, with three or four fellows fastened by the head and hands, and standing for an hour in that helpless posture, exposed to gross and cruel insult from the multitude, who pelted them incessantly with rotten eggs and every repulsive kind of garbage that could be collected. These things I have often witnessed; but they have given way to better systems, better manners, and better feelings." [1]

We have had occasion more than once to speak of the town-meeting as an exponent of Boston ideas. A single passage from Breck's *Recollections* will suffice as an illustration of the same institution when taken as an exponent of the manners of the town. When Lafayette was in Boston in 1784,[2] he received a good many attentions from the Breck family.

"Anxious to show him all that related to our institutions and manners, my father invited him one day to go to Faneuil Hall to hear the discussion of some municipal law then in agitation. 'You will see,' said he, 'the quiet proceedings of our townsmen, and learn by a personal examination how erroneous is the general opinion abroad that a large community cannot be governed by a pure democracy. Here we have in Boston,' continued he, 'about eighteen thousand inhabitants, and all our town business

[1] *Recollections of Samuel Breck*, pp. 33-37.

[2] [Lafayette was not personally unknown in Boston; he had been here more than once before. It will be remembered that after the failure of the Rhode Island campaign, in 1778, he had come to Boston to use his persuasion with the commander of the French fleet not to desert the cause. After Yorktown, when he hastened to France to carry despatches to the French king, as well as from tenderer impulses, he had come to Boston to embark, reaching here on Dec. 10, 1781. Here he had been enthusiastically received; a committee of the town, of which Samuel Adams was chairman, had presented an address to him; and a subscription taking place to rebuild the Charlestown meeting-house, burned during the battle on Bunker Hill, Lafayette had placed his name on the list for twenty-five guineas. The officers of the Massachusetts Line also presented an address. He sailed, December 23, in the French frigate "L'Alliance." It was Aug. 4, 1784, when Lafayette again landed in New York; and after first visiting Mount Vernon, he began that triumphal progress through the country which evinced the love the people bore for him. As he approached Boston, in October, the officers of the army met him at Watertown; then in a procession he made his entry over Boston Neck, through throngs of people, while he was conducted to a tavern, where he returned their compliments in a speech from a balcony. In the evening the street lanterns were lighted for the first time since the peace. On the nineteenth, the anniversary of Yorktown, Governor Hancock received him formally. Five hundred gentlemen dined with their guest in Faneuil Hall. Thirteen decorated arches surrounded the room, and Lafayette sat under a huge *fleur-de-lis*. Thirteen guns in the market-place accompanied as many patriotic toasts. When that one proposing the health of Washington was drunk, a curtain fell and disclosed a picture of the General, crowned with laurel, and wearing the color of America and France. Lafayette led off the response with "Vive Washington!" In the evening, Madam Haley, a sister of the notorious John Wilkes (see Vol. II. p. xliv), and a leader of fashion in the town, gave a great party, and there were many illuminations throughout the streets. Some days later, after he had made excursions along the coast, he embarked in the French frigate "La Nymphe," and sailed for Virginia. *Magazine of American History*, December, 1878. — ED.]

21st august 1778
Your most obedient servant
the Mis de Lafayette

is done in a general assembly of the people.' The Márquis, glad of the opportunity, consented to attend my father. By and by the great bell of the celebrated Doctor Samuel Cooper's church, with a dozen others, called the inhabitants together. I forget what the business was, but it inspired universal interest, and drew to the hall an overflowing house. The Marquis was of course well accommodated, and sat in silent admiration at the demure manner in which the moderator was chosen and inducted to the chair, and the meeting fully organized. Then the debate opened. One speaker affirmed, another denied, a third rejoined; each increasing in vehemence, until the matter in debate was changed into personal sarcasm. Gibe followed gibe, commotion ensued, the popular mass rolled to and fro, disorder reached its height, and the elders of the town were glad to break up the stormy meeting, and postpone the discussion. My father led the Marquis out in the midst of the angry multitude. When fairly disengaged from the crowd he said to the illustrious stranger: 'This is not the sample which I wished to show you of our mode of deliberating. Never do I recollect to have seen such fiery spirits assembled in this hall, and I must beg you not to judge of us by what you have seen to-day; for good sense, moderation, and perfect order are the usual characteristics of my fellow-townsmen, here and elsewhere.' 'No doubt, no doubt,' said the Marquis laughing; 'but it is well enough to know that there are exceptions to the general rule,' or words to that effect, — meaning to make a joke of the matter, which was, indeed, very often afterward the occasion of mirthful remarks upon the forbearance, calmness, decorum, and parliamentary politeness ever to be found in deliberative assemblies of pure democracy." [2]

BOSTON March 29, 1783.

Laſt night Colonel John Trumbull arrived in this town; and brought with him the following very important

INTELLIGENCE,

viz.

Philadelphia, 23d March, 1783.

Half paſt Six o'Clock.

Dear SIR,

TEN minutes ſince, the Captain of the Hyder Aly came to Mr. Morris's, where I dined, with an account of a French packet being arrived at Cheſter, in Thirty days from Cadiz, with the news that a

GENERAL PEACE

was ſigned the Twentieth of January; and that Hoſtilities were to ceaſe, on this coaſt, the 20th of this month.

Juſt now a meſſenger arrived from Monſieur Vallogne, to the Miniſter, with the ſame news; and that the Captain of the packet was on the road with the diſpatches.

God bleſs you! Your's,

J CARTER.

J. Wadſworth, Eſq;

PEACE EXTRA.[1]

Perhaps, if Mr. Breck had been philosophically disposed, he might have reminded his guest that the town-meeting offered an opportunity for the escape of feeling, and was thus a safety-valve. The newspaper had not yet taken the place of the public assembly as the clearest reflection of the life of the day.

H. E. Scudder

[1] [This reduction of the Extra announcing the conclusion of a general peace is made from an original owned by Colonel W. W. Clapp. The general celebration came later. William Burbeck rendered his bill, Feb. 28, 1784, to the State for building a stage to exhibit the fireworks for celebrating the peace, amounting to £16 17*s.* 3*d.* — ED.]

[2] *Recollections of Samuel Breck*, pp. 39, 40.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

THE LOYALISTS. — Sabine, in his *American Loyalists*, estimates that some two thousand adherents of the King left Massachusetts. It is also stated that of the three hundred and ten who were banished by the State, over sixty were Harvard graduates. John Adams was inclined to believe that in the Colonies at large not more than two-thirds were against the Crown, and some of the Colonies were about equally divided. "The last contest in the town of Boston, in 1775, between Whig and Tory, was decided by five against two."—*Works*, x. 63, 87. Without aiming to make it complete, we offer the following list of such of the Loyalists as may claim, either as inhabitants or by official residence or association, to have some connection with Boston. In making it we have used, besides Sabine, the list of the proscribed in 1778, as given in Vol. II. 563; the "list of the inhabitants of Boston who on the evacuation by the British removed to Halifax with the army," which is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 1880, p. 266 (see also *Curwen's Journal*, p. 485); the address to Hutchinson and its signers, June 1, 1774, given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Feb. 1871, p. 43, and on p. 45, the "Solemn League and Covenant," reported by Warren on the fifth of June, and sent out to the towns as a circular, which occasioned a "protest" and a "proclamation" from Gage, likewise printed in the same place.

The names of the "protesters" against the "Solemn League and Covenant," and of the addressers of Hutchinson in 1774, are printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1870, p. 392. The signers to the address to Hutchinson in 1774 is also in *Curwen's Journal*, p. 465. The two volumes marked "Royalists," in the *Mass. Archives* (vol. i. 1775–84, and ii. 1778–84) have also been examined. They are made up very largely of returns from town committees to the Provincial Congress, respecting suspected persons, confiscated estates, with the accounts of the agents of such estates, the doings of the Committee of Sequestration, conveyances of the property, etc. In the first volume, pp. 333 and 338, is the return June 13, 1782, of the Committee on Confiscated Estates in Suffolk County, showing whose estates were settled by an agent of the Province, and to whom the different lots and buildings were sold, and for what sum; the whole amounting to £32,062 8*s*. 2*d*. Numerous papers relating to absentee's estates, 1782–89, are in *Mass. Archives*, cxxxix. and beginning p. 470, are the bonds of persons "supposed to be royalists." The confiscation acts of Massachusetts are printed in *Curwen's Journal*, p. 475, and the banishment act of 1778, in Ibid. p. 479. The *Journals and Letters of Samuel Curwen* give the best account of life among the Loyalists in England, and numerous notices of Loyalists are appended to it, as edited by George A. Ward, Boston, 1864. A New England club of Loyalists was formed in London in 1776, consisting of the following: — Thomas Hutchinson, Richard Clark, Joseph Green, Jonathan Bliss, Jonathan Sewall, Joseph Waldo, S. S. Blowers, Elisha Hutchinson, William Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Quincy, Isaac Smith, Harrison Gray, David Greene, Jonathan Clark, Thomas Flucker, Joseph Taylor, Daniel Silsbee, Thomas Brinley, William Cabot, John S. Copley, Nathaniel Coffin, Samuel Porter, Benjamin Pickman, John Amory, Robert Auchmuty, Major Urquhart, Samuel Curwen, Edward Oxnard,— most of whom were associated with Boston.

Dr. John C. Warren, in 1800, speaks of the visits he paid in England to the Tories, Harrison Gray, the Vassalls, and others, who were then living there "very comfortably." *Life of John Collins Warren*, i. 48.

The enumeration below is confined in the main to heads of families: —

Acre, Thomas	Berry, Edward
Allen, Ebenezer	Berry, John
Allen, Jeremiah	Bethel, Robert, *Cl. Col.*
Allen, Jolley[1]	Bethune, George[11]
Amory, John	Black, David
Amory, Thomas[2]	Black, John
Anderson, James[3]	Black, William
Andros, Barret	Blair, John, *Baker*
Apthorp, Rev. East[4]	Blair, Robert
Apthorp, Thomas[5]	Blair, William
Apthorp, William[6]	Blowers, Sams'n Salter[12]
Asby, James	Borland, John[13]
Ashley, Joseph	Borland, John Lindall[14]
Atkins, Gibbs[7]	Bouman, Archibald
Atkinson, John, *Merch.*	Boutineau, James[15]
Auchmuty, Robert[8]	Bowen, John
Auhard, Benjamin	Bowers, Archibald
Aylwin, Thomas	Bowes, William, *Mer.*[16]
Ayres, Eleanor	Bowles, William
Badger, Rev. Moses[9]	Bowman, Arch'ld, *Auc.*
Baker, John, Jr.	Boylston, John[17]
Barclay, Andrew	Boylston, Thomas[18]
Barnard, John	Boylston, Ward Nich's[19]
Barrell, Colburn	Bradstreet, Samuel
Barrell, Walter, *In. Gen.*	Brandon, John
Barrick, James, *Cl. Ins.*	Brattle, Maj. Thomas[20]
Barton, David	Brattle, William
Beath, Mary	Bridgham, Ebenezer
Bernard, Sir Francis[10]	Brinley, George[21]

Brinley, Thomas, *Mer.*[22]
Broderick, John
Brown, David
Brown, Thomas, *Mer.*
Bruce, James[23]
Bryant, John
Brymer, Alexander
Bulfinch, Samuel
Burch, William[24]
Burroughs, John
Burton, Mary, *Milliner*
Burton, William
Butler, Gillam
Butler, James
Butter, James
Byles, Rev. Dr. Mather[25]
Byles, Mather, Jr.[26]
Calef, Robert[27]
Campbel, William
Caner, Rev. Dr. Henry[28]
Capen, Hopestill
Carr, Mrs.
Carver, Melzer[29]
Cary, Nathaniel
Case, James
Caste, Dennis
Caste, Dr. Thomas
Cazneau, And'w, *Law.*[30]
Cazneau, Edward[31]
Cazneau, William
Cednor, William
Ceely, John
Chadwel, Samuel
Chandler, John, Esq.[32]
Chandler, Nathaniel
Chandler, Rufus, *Law.*
Chandler, William
Cheever, Wm. Downe
Chipman, Ward[33]
Church, Dr. Benjamin[34]
Clark, Benjamin
Clark, John
Clark, Joseph
Clarke, Isaac Winslow
Clarke, Jonathan[35]
Clarke, Richard[36]
Clemmens, Thomas
Clement, Capt. Joseph
Clementson, Samuel
Codner, William
Coffin, Ebenezer[37]
Coffin, John[38]
Coffin, Nathaniel
Coffin, Nathaniel[39]
Coffin, Nathaniel, Jr.
Coffin, Sir Thos. Aston[40]
Coffin, William[41]
Coffin, Wm. Jr. *Merch.*
Colepepper, James
Connor, Mrs.
Cook, Robert
Cooley, John
Copley, John Singleton[42]
Cotton, John[43]
Courtney, James
Courtney, Richard
Courtney, Thomas
Cox, Edward
Cox, Lemuel
Crane, Timothy
Crow, Charles[44]
Cummins, A. and E.
Cunningham, Archib'd[45]
Cushman, Elkanah
Cutler, Ebenezer[46]
Danforth, Dr. Sam'l[47]
Danforth, Thomas[48]
Davies, William
Davis, Benjamin
Davis, Edward
Deblois, Gilbert[49]
De Blois, Lewis[50]
Dechezzan, Adam[51]
Demsey, Roger
Dickenson, Nathaniel
Dickinson, Francis
Dickinson, William
Dickson, William
Domette, Joseph
Dougherty, Edward
Doyley, Francis
Doyley, John
Draper, Margaret[52]
Draper, Richard[53]
Dudley, Charles, *Collector, Newport.*
Duelly, William
Dumaresq, Philip, *Mer.*[54]
Duncan, Alexander
Dunlap, Daniel
Duyer, Edmund
Edson, Josiah
Elton, Peter
Emerson, John
Erving, George[55]
Erving, John[56]
Erving, John, Jr.[57]
Fall, Thomas
Faneuil, Benjamin[58]
Faneuil, Benjamin, Jr.
Field, John
Fillis, John
Fisher, Turner[59]
Fisher, Wilfred
Fitch, Samuel
Fleming, John[60]
Flucker, Thomas[61]
Forrest, James[62]
Foster, Edward
Foster, Edward, Jr.
Frankland, Lady[63]
Fullerton, Stephen
Gamage, James
Gardiner, Dr. Sylvester[64]
Gay, Martin[65]
Gay, Samuel[66]
Gemmill, Matthew
Geyer, Fred'k William[67]
Goddard, Lemuel
Goldthwait, Ezekiel
Goldthwait, Joseph[68]
Goldthwait, M. B.
Gookin, Edmund
Gore, John[69]
Gore, Samuel
Gorman, Edward
Gray, Andrew
Gray, Harrison[70]
Gray, Harrison, Jr.
Gray, John[71]
Gray, Joseph[72]
Gray, Lewis
Gray, Samuel[73]
Gray, Thomas
Greecart, John
Greene, Benjamin[74]
Greene, David[75]
Greene, Richard[76]
Green, Francis[77]
Green, Hammond
Green, Joseph[78]
Greenlaw, John
Greenleaf, Stephen[79]
Greenwood, Isaac
Greenwood, Nathaniel
Greenwood, Samuel
Gridley, Benjamin[80]
Grison, Edmond
Grozart, John
Hale, Samuel
Hall, James[81]
Hallowell, Benjamin[82]
Hallowell, Robert[83]
Halson, Henry
Harper, Isaac
Harrison, Joseph[84]
Harrison, Richard A.[85]
Haskins, John
Hatch, Christopher
Hatch, Hawes
Hatch, Nathaniel[86]
Heath, William
Henderson, James
Hester, John
Hewes, Shubael[87]
Hicks, John[88]
Hinston, John
Hirons, Richard
Hodges, Samuel
Hodgson, John
Hodson, Thomas
Holmes, Benjamin M.
Homans, John
Hooper, Jacob
Howe, John[89]
Hubbard, Daniel
Hughes, Peter
Hughes, Samuel
Hulton, Henry
Hunt, John
Hunter, William
Hurlston, Richard
Hutchinson, Eliakim[90]
Hutchinson, Elisha[91]
Hutchinson, Foster[92]
Hutchinson, Gov. Thos.[93]
Hutchinson, Thos. Jr.[94]
Hutchinson, William
Inman, John
Inman, Ralph[95]
Jackson, William[96]
Jarvis, Robert
Jeffrey, Patrick[97]
Jeffries, John[98]
Jennex, Thomas
Johonnot, Francis
Johonnot, Peter[99]
Joy, John
Kerland, Patrick
King, Edward
Kirk, Thomas
Knight, Thomas
Knutton, John[100]
Knutton, William
Laughton, Henry
Laughton, Joseph
Lawler, Ellis
Lazarus, Samuel
Lear, Christopher
Lechmere, Richard[101]
Leddel, Henry
Lee, Henry
Lee, Judge Joseph[102]
Leonard, Daniel
Leonard, George
Leslie, James
Lewis, John
Lillie, Theophilus
Linkieter, Alexander[103]
Linning, Andrew
Lloyd, Henry[104]
Lloyd, Dr. James[105]
Lloyd, Samuel
Loring, Dr. Benjamin[106]
Loring, Joshua[107]
Loring, Joshua, Jr.[108]
Lovell, Benjamin[109]
Lovell, John[110]
Lowe, Charles
Lush, George
Lyde, Byfield[111]
Lyde, Edward[112]
Lyde, George
Lynch, Peter

McAlpine, William [113]
McClintock, Nathan
Macdonald, Dennis
McEwen, James
Mackay, Mrs.
McKean, Andrew
MacKinstrey, Mrs. [114]
McKown, John
McMaster, Daniel [115]
McMaster, James [116]
McMasters, Patrick
McMullen, Alexander
McNeil, Archibald
McNeil, William
Madden, Richard
Magner, John
Malcom, John [117]
Marston, Benjamin
Martin, William
Massingham, Isaac
Mather, Samuel
Mein, John [118]
Meserve, George
Mewse, Thomas
Miller, John
Mills, Nathaniel [119]
Minot, Christopher
Minot, Samuel
Mitchel, Thomas
Mitchelson, David
Moody, John
Moody, John, Jr.
Moore, Augustus
Moore, John
Morrison, John [120]
Morrow, Col.
Mossman, William
Mulcainy, Patrick [121]
Mulhall, Edward [122]
Murray, James
Murray, Col. John [123]
Murray, William
Newton, Richard
Nevin, Lazarus
Norwood, Ebenezer
Nunn, Samuel
Ochterlony, David [124]
Oliver, Andrew [125]
Oliver, Judge Peter [126]
Oliver, Dr. Peter [127]
Oliver, Thomas [128]
Oliver, Wm. Sanford [129]
O'Neil, Joseph
Orcutt, Joseph
Paddock, Adino [130]
Paddock, Adino, Jr. [131]
Page, George
Paine, Samuel
Parker, Rev. Samuel [132]
Parker, William
Pashley, George
Patten, George
Patterson, William
Paxton, Charles [133]
Pecker, Dr. James [134]
Pecker, Jeremiah
Pelham, Henry
Pemberton, Rev. Ebenezer [135]
Pepperell, Sir William (the younger) [136]
Perkins, Houghton [137]
Perkins, James [138]
Perkins, Dr. Nathaniel
Perkins, Dr. Wm. Lee [139]
Perry, William
Pettit, John Sam
Phillips, Benjamin
Phillips, Ebenezer
Phillips, John [140]
Phillips, Martha
Phips, David [141]
Pine, Samuel
Pitcher, Moses [142]
Pollard, Benjamin
Porter, James [143]
Powell, John
Powell, William D.
Price, Benjamin
Prince, Job
Prince, Samuel
Prout, Timothy
Putnam, James [144]
Putnam, James, Jr. [145]
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Ramage, John
Rand, Dr. Isaac [147]
Randall, Robert
Read, Charles
Reeve, Richard [148]
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Roberts, Frederic
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Rogers, Nathan
Rogers, Samuel
Rose, Peter
Rowth, Richard [151]
Royall, Isaac [152]
Ruggles, John [153]
Ruggles, Richard
Ruggles, Timothy
Rummer, Richard
Russell, Ezekiel [154]
Russell, James [155]
Russell, Nathaniel
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Saltonstall, Richard [157]
Sampson, John
Savage, Abráham
Savage, Arthur [158]
Scammel, Thomas
Scott, Joseph
Selby, John
Selkrig, James
Selkrig, Thomas
Semple, John
Semple, Robert
Semple, Thomas
Serjeant, John
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Sewall, Samuel [160]
Sheaffe, Nathaniel [161]
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Shepard, Joseph
Sherwin, Richard
Silsby, Daniel
Simmonds, William
Simpson, John
Simpson, Jeremiah
Simpson, Jonathan [165]
Simpson, William
Skinner, Francis
Smith, Edward
Smith, Henry [166]
Smith, Richard
Snelling, Jonathan [167]
Sparhawk, Samuel
Spillard, Timothy
Spooner, Ebenezer
Spooner, George
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Stearns, Jonathan [168]
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Sterling, Elizabeth
Stevens, John [169]
Steward, Adam [170]
Story, William
Stow, Edward
Sullivan, Bartholomew
Sullivan, George
Taylor, Charles
Taylor, John
Taylor, Joseph [171]
Taylor, Nathaniel [172]
Taylor, William
Terry, Zebedee
Terry, William
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Thomas, Nath'l Ray [174]
Thompson, George
Thompson, James
Timmins, John
Townsend, Gregory
Townsend, Shippy
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Turill, Thomas
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Vassall, William, Jr. [180]
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Warden, James
Warden, Joseph
Warden, William
Warren, Abraham
Waterhouse, Samuel
Welsh, James
Welsh, Peter
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Wheaton, Obadiah
Wheelwright, Job
Wheelwright, Joseph
Whiston, Obadiah
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White, John [185]
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Whitworth, Dr. Miles [187]
Whitworth, Dr. Miles, Jr. [188]
Willard, Abel [189]
Willard, Abijah [190]
Williams, Job [191]
Williams, John [192]
Williams, Seth [193]
Willis, David
Wilson, Archibald
Wilson, Joseph
Winnet, John, Jr.
Winslow, Edward [194]
Winslow, Edward, Jr. [195]
Winslow, Mrs. Hannah
Winslow, Isaac [196]
Winslow, John [197]
Winslow, Joshua
Winslow, Pelham [198]
Wittington, William
Woolen, William
Worral, Thos. Grooby
Wright, Daniel

NOTES.

[1] See his account of his own tribulations in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1878.

[2] Brother of John. See Sabine, who shows how their descendants are well known among us now.

[3] Washington speaks of him during the siege as commanding the Scotch Company in Boston.

[4] Of Christ Church, Cambridge; the antagonist of Jonathan Mayhew.

[5] Estate settled by Martin Brimmer. Inventory in *Mass. Archives*, "Royalists," i. 425.

[6] Estate settled by John Scollay.

[7] Died in Boston in 1806.

[8] Estate settled by Saml. G. Jarvis. See Vol. II. and IV. index. His house is shown in Vol II p. 343.

[9] Connected with the Saltonstalls. See Sabine.

[10] Estate settled by Joseph Smith. See Vol. II. index. Governor Bernard had left the country in 1769, but his estate was confiscated ten years later. It comprised fifty acres.

[11] His wife was a daughter of Benjamin Faneuil. He died at Cambridge in 1785.

[12] Went to England in 1774; returned in 1778; was imprisoned; but being released went to Nova Scotia, where he attained distinction and died in 1842.

[13] Estate settled by Richard Cranch. Inventory taken April 9, 1776; sold March, 1778. *Mass. Archives.* "Royalists," i. 423. See Vol. II. index. See Sabine.

[14] Estate settled by Israel Hutchinson. Died in England in 1825.

[15] See the chapter on the Huguenots in Vol. II.

[16] Died in England in 1805.

[17] John Boylston, son of Dr Zabdiel Boylston, left Boston in 1768, and lived afterward in London and Bath, whence his letters through the war evinced his kindly feelings for his townsmen, and he did much to relieve the sufferings of the American prisoners at Forton. In his will dated at Bath, in 1793, he makes a bequest "to the poor and decayed householders of the town of Boston," and for "the nurture and instruction of poor orphans and deserted children of the town of Boston, until fourteen years of age." The City Auditor's reports show that these funds now exceed one hundred thousand dollars. *N. E. Hist. & Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1881

[18] Died in London in 1798, ruined in fortune and broken in heart.

[19] Name changed from Hallowell; was the son of Benjamin Hallowell, named below. He returned to Boston in 1800, and died at Roxbury in 1828.

[20] Recovered his patrimony by act of the Legislature in 1784, and died in 1801.

[21] Died in Halifax in 1809.

[22] H. C. 1744; died in England in 1784.

[23] Perhaps the captain of one of the tea-ships.

[24] Commissioner of Customs.

[25] See Vol. II. index, and Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume.

[26] See Vol. II index, and Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume.

[27] Estate settled by Samuel Partridge; son of John Calef, of Ipswich; died in Virginia in 1801.

[28] Estate settled by Levi Jennings. See Rev. Dr. Brooks's chapter in this volume. This estate is now covered in part by the building of the Mass. Hist. Society.

[29] A refugee in Boston; embarked in 1776.

[30] Returned to Boston in 1788, and died in Roxbury in 1792. His property escaped confiscation.

[31] Returned after the war; settled in South Carolina, and died in Boston.

[32] From Worcester; took refuge in Boston in 1774, and embarked in 1776. Died in 1800 in London. George Bancroft is his grandson. The three names following are those of his brothers.

[33] He fled into Boston in 1775; and left with the troops; became distinguished in Nova Scotia.

[34] See a previous page in this volume.

[35] Son of Richard.

[36] One of the consignees of the Tea, and father-in-law of Copley the artist. Died in England in 1795.

[37] Son of William, Jr.

[38] Son of Nathaniel, the Receiver-General.

[39] Died in New York, in 1780; Father of Sir Isaac Coffin. See Editorial Note to chap. I. of Vol. IV.

[40] Son of William, Jr.; graduated at Harvard College in 1772. No evidence of his right to the title *Sir*.

[41] Son of Nathaniel, the Receiver-General.

[42] See Mr. Arthur Dexter's chapter in Vol. IV.

[43] A great-grandson of the first minister of Boston; died in Boston in 1776; was royal deputy secretary.

[44] Carted to the British lines in Rhode Island in 1777.

[45] Died respected in Nova Scotia in 1820.

[46] Of Northborough; sent into Boston by General Ward; left with the troops in 1776.

[47] Remained in Boston after the siege. See Dr. Green's chapter in Vol. IV.

[48] Of Charlestown.

[49] Lived where the Horticultural Hall stands; died in England in 1791.

[50] Died in England in 1779.

[51] Sabine says "Deonezzan."

[52] Widow of Richard; died in England in 1800.

[53] See Vol. II. 392.

[54] Married a daughter of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. See Vol. II. 268.

[55] Merchant; embarked in 1776; died in London in 1806; married daughter of Isaac Royall.

[56] An eminent merchant; died in Boston, in 1786. See Vol. II. index.

[57] H. C. 1747; embarked in 1776; died in England in 1816; married a daughter of Governor Shirley. His son, Dr. Shirley Erving, died in Boston in 1813. See Vol. II. p. 539.

[58] An eminent merchant; died in Cambridge in 1785 See Vol II. index.

[59] Son of Wilfred.

[60] Printer; partner of Mein. See Mr. Goddard's chapter in Vol. II.

[61] Estate settled by Joseph Pierce. Of his family there is some account in Drake's *Life of Knox*, appendix. Died in England in 1783.

[62] Commanded the Loyal Irish Volunteers in Boston during the siege.

[63] See *ante* in this chapter, and Vol. II. index.

[64] Estate settled by Nathaniel Gorham Banished, 1778. Perkins's *Copley*, 56; *Heraldic Journal*, iv. 98; Sabine, i. 461; see also Vol. II. p. 558.

[65] Son of Rev. Dr. Gay, of Hingham; left with the troops in 1776.

[66] Son of Martin; H.C. 1775; went to New Brunswick.

[67] Returned and restored to citizenship in 1789; was grandfather of Capt. Marryat, the novelist.

[68] Born in Boston, 1730; banished 1778; Major of British army. See Perkins's *Copley*, 57.

[69] Left with the troops in 1776; citizenship restored in 1787; died in Boston in 1796; father of Governor Christopher Gore.

[70] Estate settled by Joseph Henderson. Perkins's *Copley*, p. 68. See Harrison Gray Otis's defence of the character of his grandfather, Harrison Gray, in Loring's *Boston Orators*, p. 191.

[71] Son of Harrison Gray.

[72] See Sabine, i. 490; who gives a brother John Gray, not to be confounded with John, the son of Harrison.

[73] Brother of Joseph.

[74] Died in Boston in 1807.

[75] Citizenship restored in 1789; died in 1812.

[76] Died at Boston in 1817.

[77] Graduated at Harvard College, 1760; after some years spent in Nova Scotia and England, he returned to Medford in 1797, and died there in 1809.

[78] Estate settled by Dr. Thomas Bulfinch. "An inventory of the goods and effects found in the house of Joseph Green in School Lane, improved by John Andrews," is in the *Mass. Archives*, "Royalists," i. 433. See his portrait in Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume.

79 Sheriff, died in Boston in 1795.

80 Lawyer; H. C. 1751; embarked with the troops in 1776.

81 Commanded the "Dartmouth," one of the tea-ships in 1773; proscribed in 1778.

82 Estate settled by John Winthrop. See Vol. II. p. 343; Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, 408. The heirs of Mrs. Hallowell, in whom was the fee, subsequently recovered the estate. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1858, p. 72. His sons were Sir Benjamin Hallowell Carew, and Ward Nicholas Boylston.

83 Estate settled by Zephion Thayer. He was Comptroller of the Customs. He left with the troops in March, 1776; after the war he returned to America, and in 1792 lived in Batterymarch Street, but removed to Gardiner, Me., in 1816, and died there in 1818. He was brother of Benjamin.

84 Collector of Customs in 1768.

85 Son of Joseph.

86 Of Dorchester; H. C. 1742.

87 Chief butcher to the British army during the siege. His shop was on the south corner of Washington Street and Harvard Place, opposite the old South. Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 270. Died in Boston in 1813.

88 Printer; finally returned, and died at Newton.

89 Father of Hon. Joseph Howe, distinguished in Canadian politics.

90 Estate settled by Edward Carnes. His property included Shirley Hall in Roxbury, shown in the frontispiece of Vol. II., and his wife was Governor Shirley's daughter. He died in 1775.

91 Son of the Governor; partner of Thomas, Jr.; died in England in 1824.

92 Estate settled by Joshua Pico; brother of the Governor; died in Nova Scotia in 1799.

93 Governor Hutchinson's estate in Milton was sold in 1779 for £38,038. *Mass. Archives*, "Royalists," ii. 66. Died in England in 1780.

94 Died in England in 1811; son of the Governor.

95 Died in Cambridge in 1788.

96 Died in England in 1810.

97 Returned, and died at Milton in 1812.

98 Estate settled by Dr. Scollay. He graduated at Harvard College, 1763; left Boston with the troops in 1776; returned in 1790; died in 1819.

99 Distiller; died in London in 1809.

100 Died in New Brunswick in 1827.

101 Estate settled by Mungo Mackay. He died in England in 1814.

102 Was allowed to remain in Cambridge; died in 1802.

103 Sabine gives it "Linkletter."

104 Died in London in 1795 or 1796.

105 See Dr. Green's chapter in Vol. IV.

106 Returned, and died in Boston in 1798.

107 Estate settled by John Fenno. See Vol. II. p. 344; Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 416. His estate in Roxbury was sold, June 1779, for £26,486. 6s. 3d. *Mass. Archives*, "Royalists," ii 66. It comprised seventy-two acres. His house in Boston was "next the south writing school, adjoining on the Common." He was commissary of prisoners in New York, and is charged with cruelty in his treatment of them. There was a witticism current among the British that he fed the dead and starved the living, alluding to his practice of charging for supplies to prisoners long after their death, and giving scant allowance to others. Moore's *Diary*, ii. 110. Died in England in 1781.

108 Died in England in 1789.

109 Son of John Lovell; died in England in 1828.

110 The school-master. See Vol. II. index. Died in Halifax in 1778.

111 Died at Halifax in 1776.

112 Died at New York in 1812.

113 Printer and bookbinder, opposite the Old South. Died in Glasgow in 1788.

114 Her husband, Dr. William McKinstrey, died in the harbor, before sailing, in March, 1776; she afterward returned and died at Haverhill in 1786. See Sabine.

115 Died in New Brunswick in 1830.

116 Died in New Brunswick in 1804.

117 Customs officer of Portland; but suffered his tribulations in Boston in 1774. See Sabine.

118 Printer; he fled from Whig wrath as early as 1769. See Mr. Goddard's chapter in Vol. II.

119 Printer; went to Nova Scotia.

120 A New Hampshire minister, who left the American camp after Bunker Hill and went into Boston; preached at Brattle Street Church and became a commissary. See Sabine.

121 Sabine gives it "Mulcarty."

122 Sabine gives it "Mulball."

123 Of Rutland; fled into Boston in 1774; left with the British in 1776; died at St. John in 1794.

124 He lived at the lower corner of North and Centre streets in a house still standing. His son of the same name became a baronet. Drake's *Landmarks*, 153; Sabine, ii. 121.

125 Son of Daniel Oliver; Lieut.-Governor; died in Boston in 1774.

126 Died in England in 1791.

127 Of Middleborough; fled to Boston; died in England in 1822.

128 The last royal Lieut.-Governor; lived at "Elmwood," Cambridge, and in 1774, moved into Boston; left with the troops; died in England in 1782.

129 Son of Andrew; died at St. John, 1813. For the Oliver family, see Vol. I. p. 580; II. 539.

130 Estate settled by William Bant. See chap. I. in this volume. He died in the Isle of Jersey in 1804.

131 Became surgeon on the British side; died in New Brunswick in 1817.

132 See Mr. Goddard's and Dr. Brooks's chapters in this volume.

133 Estate settled by Joseph Shed; Commissioner of Customs. His portrait is in the Hist. Soc. gallery. See chap. I. in this volume. Left with the troops. Died in England in 1788.

134 Died in 1794.

135 Pastor of Old North Church. See Dr. McKenzie's chapter in Vol. II.

136 The grandson of the first Sir William. He lived where Otis Place now is. He was son of Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk, the son-in-law of the first Sir William; and assumed the name, and was subsequently created baronet. He married the daughter of Isaac Royall. He was the first president of an association of Loyalists formed in London, in 1779, and was pensioned by the British government. See Sabine, ii. 171. He died in London in 1876.

137 Died in Halifax in 1778.

138 Arrested in 1776; died in his home, on the site of the Tremont House, in 1803.

139 Died in England in 1797.

140 Died in Boston in 1794.

141 Son of Lieut.-Governor Spencer Phips; colonel of a troop of guards in Boston; died in England in 1811.

142 Died in Halifax in 1817.

143 Comptroller-General of the Customs; embarked in 1776.

144 Driven into Boston from Worcester, and left with the troops; and died in New Brunswick in 1789.

145 Son of preceding; died in England in 1838.

146 See Vol. II. 546, and Mr. Morse's chapter in Vol. IV. Samuel Quincy, who succeeded Sewall as Solicitor-General, was his cousin; and when Quincy's younger brother, Josiah the Patriot, rose to eminence, a natural disappointment in the older son was used by Hutchinson and Sewall to seduce him from the Patriot cause; and thus he shared the fortunes of his expatriated associates. An inventory of the confiscated library of Samuel Quincy is given in *Mass.*

Archives, "Royalists," i. 415. This estate was settled by Thomas Crofts.

147 He was inactive in politics and remained in Boston.

148 Died in England in 1789.

149 He shot the boy Snider. See chap. I. of this volume.

150 Graduated at Harvard College, 1762; took refuge in Boston; commissary to British troops in Charlestown; left with them, and died at Halifax in 1784. The grandfather of the Rev. Drs. Geo. E. and Rufus Ellis.

151 Collector at Salem; left with the troops.

152 Lived in Medford; left in 1778; closely connected with leading Boston Loyalists. See Brooks's *Medford*.

153 Took refuge in Boston in 1774; left with the troops; and died in Nova Scotia in 1795.

154 Printer; died in 1796.

155 Of Charlestown; died in 1798; grandfather of James Russell Lowell.

156 Was in commercial life in Boston; left with the British; and served under Cornwallis.

157 Took refuge in Boston from Haverhill; left in 1775; died in England in 1788.

158 Auctioneer; died in England in 1801.

159 Fled from Cambridge and took refuge in Boston in 1774; returned from England to New Brunswick; and died there in 1796.

160 Estate settled by John McLane; died in London in 1811.

161 Son of William.

162 The young son of William Sheaffe; protégé of Lord Percy; afterwards Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, bart.; revisited Boston in 1788, 1792–93, 1803 and 1806; died at Edinburgh 1851.

163 Son of William; died in Boston before 1793.

164 Deputy Collector of Customs. Sabine gives an account of the family.

165 Died in Boston in 1834.

166 Went to Halifax; returned, and died in Boston in 1801.

167 Commander of the Governor's guard; lived opposite Eliot's Church in Hanover Street; went to Halifax; died there in 1782. His son Jonathan married a daughter of Foster Hutchinson, and died in Halifax in 1809.

168 Took refuge in Boston, and left with the troops.

169 Of Charlestown; died 1792.

170 Carted to the British lines at Rhode Island in 1777.

171 Proscribed in 1778; returned, and died in Boston in 1816.

172 Proscribed in 1778; died in Quebec in 1806.

173 Proscribed in 1778, but returned and settled in Dorchester, where he died in 1831.

174 Took refuge in Boston as a mandamus councillor, and died in Nova Scotia in 1791.

175 Assistant rector of King's Chapel.

176 See Mr. Morse's chapter in Vol. IV.

177 Proscribed in 1778; died in 1802.

178 Of Cambridge, in 1775; took refuge in Boston; died in England in 1797.

179 Brother of John; died in England in 1800.

180 Son of William; died in England in 1843.

181 Died in England in 1816.

182 Rector of Trinity Church; in 1776 went to England; returned in 1791; became rector of Christ Church, and died in 1800; grandfather of Lynde M. Walter, founder of the Boston *Transcript*.

183 Died in Boston in 1794.

184 Fled from Plymouth into Boston; and was at Bunker Hill on the British side.

185 Died in Boston in 1794.

186 Died in Europe in 1799.

187 Attended in Boston the Provincials wounded and made prisoners at Bunker Hill; died in Boston in 1779.

188 Died in England in 1778.

189 Accompanied the British in 1776; died in England in 1781.

190 Of Lancaster; left with the troops in 1776; died in New Brunswick in 1789.

191 Cut down "Liberty Tree." See Mr. Scudder's chapter. Left with the British.

192 Inspector-General of the Customs.

193 Of Taunton; took refuge in Boston; and left in 1776.

194 Brother of General John; took refuge in Boston; embarked in 1776; died in 1784.

195 Son of Edward; joined the royal army in Boston in 1775, and became a colonel; died in New Brunswick in 1815. See Vol. II. pp. 124, 551.

196 See Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 256. Embarked in 1776; died in London in 1790.

197 General Winslow, whose portrait is given in Vol. II. p. 123; considered by Sabine a "prerogative man;" died in 1774; and his widow is said to have embarked with the troops in March, 1776.

198 Son of General John, of Plymouth; took refuge in Boston in 1774; embarked in 1776; died in Brooklyn in 1783.

AFTER THE EVACUATION. — Howe had begun his embarkation early in the morning of Sunday, March 17. By nine o'clock he withdrew his guard from Charlestown, and soon after the last boats put off from the wharves. "From Penn's hill," writes Abigail Adams from Braintree, March 17, 1775, "we have a view of the largest fleet ever seen in America. You may count upwards of a hundred and seventy sail. They look like a forest." — *Familiar Letters*, 142. The American advance pushed forward cautiously down the Charlestown peninsula, and found the works tenanted only by wooden sentinels. A strong force embarked in boats on the Charles and fell down the river, prepared to act as might be required. A detachment from Roxbury under Colonel Learned entered the works on the Neck, and, unopposed, unbarred the gates. The entry was made under the immediate command of Putnam, who proceeded to seize the principal posts. On the 20th, the main body of the troops entered,[1] and the next day Washington, who still kept his headquarters at Cambridge, issued the proclamation given (on next page) in reduced fac-simile from a copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

An inventory of the stores, ordnance, and vessels left by the British was made March 18 and 19, and is printed in the *Siege of Boston*, p. 406. Some of the cannon are now to be seen on Cambridge Common, about the Soldier's Monument. Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, 265.

Dr. John Warren's account of the condition of the town is given in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 161; and with a statement of the strength of the works left by the British, in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 329; and in the *Life of Dr. John Warren*, by his son Edward Warren, Boston, 1873, which has a portrait, en-

[1] Dr. John Warren's diary chronicles the action of the enemy this same day: "March 20th. This evening they burn the castle and demolish it, by blowing up all the fortifications there. They leave not a building standing."

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

George Washington, Esq:

Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the *Thirteen* United Colonies.

WHEREAS the Ministerial Army have abandoned the Town of BOSTON *; and the Forces of the United Colonies, under my Command, are in Possession of the same :*

I HAVE therefore thought it necessary for the Preservation of Peace, good Order and Discipline, to publish the following ORDERS, that no Person offending therein may plead Ignorance as an Excuse for their Misconduct.

ALL Officers and Soldiers are hereby ordered to live in the strictest Peace and Amity with the Inhabitants ; and no Inhabitant, or other Person employed in his lawful Business in the Town, is to be molested in his Person or Property on any Pretence whatever —If any Officer or Soldier shall presume to strike, imprison, or otherwise ill-treat any of the Inhabitants, they may depend on being punished with the utmost Severity —And if any Officer or Soldier shall receive any Insult from any of the Inhabitants, he is to seek Redress, in a legal Way, and no other.

ANY Non-commissioned Officer, Soldier, or others under my Command, who shall be guilty of robbing or plundering in the Town, are to be immediately confined, and will be most rigidly punished —All Officers are therefore ordered to be very vigilant in the Discovery of such offenders, and report their Names, and Crime, to the Commanding Officer in the Town, as soon as may be.

THE Inhabitants, and others, are called upon to make known to the Quarter-Master General, or any of his Deputies, all Stores belonging to the Ministerial Army, that may be remaining or secreted in the Town : Any Person or Persons whatever, that shall be known to conceal any of the said Stores, or appropriate them to his or their own Use, will be considered as an Enemy of *America*, and treated accordingly.

THE Selectmen, and other Magistrates of the Town, are desired to return to the Commander in Chief, the Names of all or any Person or Persons they may suspect of being employed as Spies upon the Continental Army, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

ALL Officers of the Continental Army, are enjoined to assist the Civil Magistrates in the Execution of their Duty, and to promote Peace and good order.—They are to prevent, as much as possible, the Soldiers from frequenting Tippling Houses, and straggling from their Posts —Particular Notice will be taken of such Officers as are inattentive and remiss in their Duty , and on the contrary, such only who are active and vigilant, will be entitled to future Favor and Promotion.

GIVEN under my Hand at Head-Quarters *in* Cambridge, *this Twenty-first Day of* March, 1776.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

graved from the painting, now owned by Dr. John Collins Warren. It is Dr. John Warren's statements upon which the affirmation is sometimes made that the redoubt on Bunker Hill, found by the Americans, was one erected by the British after they had levelled the earthworks of June 17, 1775; but it seems probable, as Frothingham, p. 331, shows, that the British preserved, perhaps with modifications, the original redoubt.

There seems to have been left behind a considerable stock of the inhabitants' arms; for a memorandum on a letter, April 20, 1776, from the Provincial Congress at Watertown, signed by Wm. Sever, and asking of the selectmen a statement on this point (now in the Charity-building collection), has an endorsement on it: "1778 guns, 273 bayonets, 634 pistols, 38 blunderbuses, — inhabitants' arms." This enumeration, however, may refer to the number of arms which had been surrendered to Gage in April, 1775.

In the same collection is the following paper: —

"*Copy of acc. of losses the town sustained by the enemy. Given in Dec. 17, 1777.*

		£	s.	d.
Town stock of powder in the Powder House		250	6	8
149 small arms and bayonets		745	0	0
3 pr. pistols		12	0	0
Town library		0	0	0
King George the 2d picture, full length	in Faneuil Hall	133	6	8
Gen Conway, do.				
Col. Barré, do.				
Peter Faneuil, Esq., do.				
Gov. Shirley, do.				
		1140	13	4"

The portraits of Conway and Barré were the ones ordered by the town in their joy at the repeal of the Stamp Act.

John Adams (*Familiar Letters*, p. 216), speaks of the portraits of Conway and Barré as by Reynolds; but the *Life of Reynolds*, by Leslie and Tom Taylor, i. 257, makes no mention of them, although Sir Joshua painted Barré more than once.

Abigail Adams writes, March 31, 1776, to her husband: "The town in general is left in a better state than we expected. . . . Some individuals discovered a sense of honor and justice, and have left the rent of the houses, in which they were, for the owners, and the furniture unhurt, or, if damaged, sufficient to make it good. Others have committed abominable ravages. The mansion house of your president [Hancock] is safe and the furniture unhurt; while the house and furniture of the Solicitor-General [Samuel Quincy] have fallen a prey to their own merciless party." — *Familiar Letters*, p. 149.

Greene succeeded Putnam for a short time; but upon Washington's leaving for New York he placed Ward in command; and in his instructions, April 4, 1776, he particularly enjoined upon him to arrange some system of signals by which to rouse the country in case of the approach of a hostile fleet. *Heath Papers*, in 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 4.

Mr. Samuel F. McCleary printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1876), vol. xxx. p. 380, and in succeeding volumes, the records of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety, from May to November, 1776.

On the 17th of May the "Franklin," a small craft under the command of an adventurous Marbleheader, Captain Mugford, whom Ward had commissioned, boldly attacked, just off the harbor, a large armed ship — the "Hope" — bringing supplies to the town, then supposed to have a British garrison. British ships were still in Nantasket Roads, and saw the engagement, but failed to render any assistance; and Mugford carried his prize through the Broad Sound into Boston. She had on board one hundred half-barrels of powder, — a much needed addition to the Continental store. Two days later, the "Franklin" grounded in trying to escape from the harbor, and was attacked by boats from the English fleet; but they were repelled, at the cost, however, of Mugford's life. See Force's *American Archives*, 4th ser. vi. 494-96, 532, 629; Gordon's *American Revolution*, ii. 264; Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, i. 244.

A good deal of good service was now done in this way by Captain Tucker, who intercepted more than one important British supply-ship and brought them into Boston, where his presence was not unfamiliar throughout the war. He had before this prepared some fireships at Germantown to send down among the fleet, but the very day he was ready the fleet sailed. *Familiar Letters of John and Abigail Adams*, p. 156 (April 14, 1776).

In June better organized efforts were made to drive off a few ships of the British which still lingered in Nantasket Roads. Detachments under Colonels Marshall and Whitney, and some artillery under Lieutenant Crafts, joined with some Continental troops and coast guards, the whole under the command of General Lincoln, took post at commanding points in the lower harbor and brought their guns to bear on the "Commodore" frigate and the other attendant vessels, which had recently been joined by a fleet of transports with troops. The demonstration caused them all soon to put to sea. Adams's *Familiar Letters*, p. 185; Moore's *Diary*, i. 251.

The admiral had kept a detachment on the lighthouse island to protect that structure; but when the fleet finally left, these men were taken off, but not until they had laid a train by which the tower was thrown down; and it was not till 1783 that the present lighthouse was erected. Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 572.

A day or two later the Continental brig "Defence," of Connecticut, captured in the bay two armed transports with Highlanders on board, and brought them safely in under the newly mounted guns at Nantasket. The "Defence" was aided by a small privateer under Captain Burk. (*Familiar Letters of John Adams*, p. 187.) In July a fleet of the enemy hovered about the bay for a week, but left without attempting hostile acts. (Ibid. p. 201.) In September, "the 'Milford' frigate rides triumphant in our bay, taking vessels every day, and no Colony or Continental vessel has yet attempted to hinder her. She mounts but twenty-eight guns, and is one of the fastest sailers in the British navy. They complain we have not weighty metal enough, and I suppose truly." — Ibid. p. 226.

A committee of the Provincial Congress, with James Sullivan at the head, had soon been appointed to consider a plan for fortifying the approaches to Boston by water; and Sullivan was also named first on a committee for carrying his report into execution. Under General Lincoln's direction the works at Fort Hill, on Dorchester Heights, and on Noddle's Island were completed, and hulks were sunk in the channel. The Congress provided the cannon left by the enemy as an armament for them. The letters written by John Adams to his wife show his anxiety at the delays in this work. In one of her replies, May 9, she says: "I believe Noddle's Island has been done by subscription. Six hundred inhabitants of the town meet every morning in the Town House, from whence they march with fife and drum, with Mr. Gordon, Mr. Skilman, and Mr. Lothrop at their head, to the Long Wharf, where they embark for the island; and it comes to the subscribers' turn to work two days in the week." *Familiar Letters*, p. 171.

Later in the year, when Massachusetts answered renewed calls for troops for the New York campaign, Boston was left exposed to sudden incursions from the enemy. In December the regiments in the harbor were prevailed upon to continue their service, and additional regi-

ments were ordered to be raised for the same service.

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED. — There was published some years since in the (British) *United Service Journal* an account of the way Independence was first proclaimed in Boston, written by a British officer, who in June, 1776, had been captured on board a transport in the bay, and was then held as a prisoner in the town. He was invited, with other officers then on parole, to the Town House, on the 18th of July. "As we passed through the town," he says, "we found it thronged; all were in their holiday suits; every eye beamed with delight, and every tongue was in rapid motion. The streets adjoining the Council Chamber were lined with detachments of infantry tolerably equipped, while in front of the jail [Court Street] artillery was drawn up, the gunners with lighted matches. The crowd opened a lane for us, and the troops gave us, as we mounted the steps, the salute due to officers of our rank. . . . Exactly as the clock struck one, Colonel [Thomas] Crafts, who occupied the chair, rose and read aloud the Declaration. This being finished, the gentlemen stood up, and each, repeating the words as they were spoken by an officer, swore to uphold the rights of his country. Meanwhile the town clerk read from a balcony the Declaration to the crowd; at the close of which a shout, begun in the hall, passed to the streets, which rang with loud huzzas, the slow and measured boom of cannon, and the rattle of musketry. . . . There was a banquet in the Council Chamber, where all the richer citizens appeared; large quantities of liquor were distributed among the mob; and when night closed in, darkness was dispelled by a general illumination."

The scene is also described by Mrs. Adams in her letters, July 21, *Familiar Letters*, p. 204, and in the *New England Chronicle*, July 25.

It was now in front of the old historic Bunch of Grapes tavern, on the upper corner of State and Kilby streets, that all portable signs of royalty in the town, — such as the arms from the Town House, the Court House, and the Custom House, — were brought and thrown in a pile to make a bonfire.

The first anniversary (July 4, 1777) of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated in Boston with great parade, a sermon by Dr. Gordon before the Legislature, a public dinner, and much booming of cannon. Moore's *Diary*, i. 463.

A copy of the broadside Declaration of Independence, attested in script, "A true copy, John Hancock, Presidt.," is in *Mass. Archives*, cxlii. 23. It is one of the copies sent to each of the States by order of Congress, Jan. 18, 1777, and is marked in print "Baltimore, in Maryland; printed by Mary Katharine Goddard." With it is Hancock's letter transmitting it to the Massachusetts authorities. There is in the Public Library another copy of the same broadside, on which is written "Attest, Cha. Thomson, Secy. A True Copy, John Hancock, Presidt." It is not evident to which of the States it was sent, if indeed it is one of those sent to the States.

GENERAL HEATH IN COMMAND. — In 1777 General Heath[1] succeeded Ward in command. His headquarters were in the house of Thomas Russell, which was in Summer Street, about where Otis Street is. Major Andrew Symmes had the immediate charge of the garrison of the town. During the summer an uncertainty as to the destination of the British fleet, then preparing to leave Newport, caused some uneasiness and renewed vigilance, and precautions were taken for alarming the country in case of impending danger. (See order in fac-simile on next page). Signals for announcing the approach of an enemy's ship to Hull, were arranged by the Council Sept. 10, 1777, and they are given in the *Mass. Archives*, cxlii. 105. Mrs. Adams describes the fright: "All Boston was in confusion, packing up and carting out of town household furniture, military stores, goods, etc. Not less than a thousand teams were employed on Friday and Saturday." — *Familiar Letters*, p. 287.

It was during Heath's term of service here in Boston that the army of Burgoyne, which had surrendered at Saratoga in October, 1777, was marched to Cambridge. The news of the surrender had preceded them, and was received with illuminations, bonfires, and cannon. Moore's *Diary*, i. 513. The provincial authorities had lost no time in chartering a swift vessel to carry the news to the Commissioners in Paris. The despatches were entrusted to Jonathan Loring Austin; and after prayers had been said by Dr. Chauncy in the old Brick Meeting-house, the vessel sailed, and reached Nantes in safety in November. Loring, *Boston Orators*, p. 174.

The English reached Prospect Hill November 6, and were put into barracks there. The Hessians arrived the next day at Winter Hill, and were quartered there. General Burgoyne, who entered Cambridge in a pelting storm at the head of his troops, was lodged temporarily at Bradish's tavern, now known as Porter's; but subsequently was quartered at the house opposite Gore Hall, known as the Bishop's Palace.

[1] A portrait of General Heath is owned by Mrs. G. Brewer, of Boston. An old oval, engraved portrait of him is marked "H Williams, pinxt I. R. Smith, sculp." There is a copy in the Historical Society's Library. General Heath's estate lay in Roxbury at the foot of Parker's Hill, and is now bisected by Heath Street. Here, on the easterly corner of that street and Bickford Avenue, the homestead stood. It was demolished in 1843. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 386.

War Office 1 Aug '77

Capt Hopkins

Please to send a Barrell Tar
to Beacon Hill immediately —
also proper Halyards to
raise it in case of an Alarm

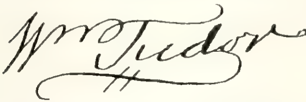
P Order of the Board
Jon Loring Austin Secy

The British artillery was parked on Cambridge Common. General Riedesel and his wife were established in the Jonathan Sewall house, on the corner of Brattle and Sparks streets. The camps of the "Convention troops," as they were called in allusion to the terms of their conditional surrender, were guarded by Massachusetts militia, while the officers signed a parole not to pass beyond specified limits.

This document is referred to by Barry (iii. 146) as being in the possession of J. W. Thornton, Esq., and as if it were the original convention paper signed at Saratoga by Burgoyne and his officers. One sheet is subscribed by Burgoyne and the English officers; and the other by Riedesel and the German officers. Mr. Thornton put it into the great Sanitary Fair held in Boston, with the understanding that it should be given to the Public Library if $1000 were subscribed for the objects of the Fair; and this being done, the interesting document, which was originally among the Heath papers, passed in 1864 into that depository.

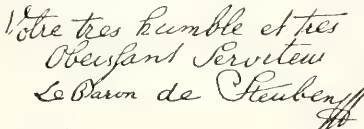
The Convention troops proved a rather turbulent set. The militia were not disciplined, and encounters not infrequently occurred between the prisoners and their guards. Some blood and even life was lost; and at last Colonel David Henley, who was in command in Cambridge, was charged by Burgoyne with cruelty and unsoldierly conduct, and brought to trial. Colonel Glover presided, and Colonel William Tudor acted as judge-advocate. Henley was acquitted. He had been brigade-major to Heath during the siege. In the summer and autumn of 1778 apprehension arose that the British might make an attempt to rescue the prisoners by landing near Boston; and so by detach-

ments the Convention troops were sent under guard into the interior of the State. The last of them left on the 15th of October; but some thirty or forty of the worst characters were left behind confined in the guardships in the harbor. In



November, as is well known, the prisoners were marched to Virginia. See the authorities enumerated in Winsor's *Readers' Handbook of the Revolution*, p. 149.

In November the Baron Steuben had arrived at Portsmouth, eager to throw his influence and



A Boston ce 27 Decembre 1777

skill into the American cause. Coming to Boston he found the community elated over the capture of Burgoyne, and addressed a letter at once to Gates, "the conqueror of Burgoyne," commending himself to his attention. We cannot follow him to Valley Forge, nor relate here the benefit which came to the camp there from his devotion.

Late in the summer of 1778 the expedition which was intended to drive out the British from Newport, and with which Hancock had gone as Major-General in command of the Massachusetts militia, came to nought. The French fleet blockading the English had been scattered in a gale; and on returning to the blockade they were not prevailed upon to assist in an attack, but sailed for Boston, leaving Sullivan, who had charge of the expedition, to extricate himself as best he could. Arrived in Boston late in August, the French repaired their vessels and replenished their stores. Lafayette came to Boston and endeavored to prevail upon the French Admiral, D'Estaing, to remain on the coast; while Howe, following the French, had come within the Capes with his fleet, as if eager for a battle. The contingency was alarming, and nine regiments of militia were ordered to Boston; but the danger passed when Howe withdrew. Mrs. Adams, mentioning the hospitalities which the French officers extended on board their ships, adds: "I cannot help saying that they have been neglected in the town of Boston. Generals Heath and Hancock have done their part; but very few, if any, private families have any acquaintance with them." (*Familiar Letters*, p. 342.) Hancock entertained them at a "superb ball" in Concert Hall, October 29. (Moore's *Diary*, ii. 88, 102.) The French left for the West Indies in November, and the regiments went home.

General Gates in Command. — In the autumn of 1778 (November 6) General Gates[1] succeeded Heath in the command in Boston. He came with his wife and a suite, and the people welcomed him kindly. Here he continued till the following spring; but his stay was not altogether an agreeable one. William Palfrey writes to General Greene in January, 1779, of the condition of affairs during Gates's command in Boston: "There seems to be a coolness between Hancock and General Gates. Neither they nor their ladies have visited each other. General G. seems not very well pleased with his situation, and I believe wishes most heartily to return to his Sabine fields. His family have been involved in quarrels almost ever since they have been in the place, which bid fair to proceed to such a length that the civil authority thought proper to interpose. Mr. Bob. Gates and Mr. [John] Carter have fought; but it proved a bloodless encounter." Sargent's *Loyalist Poetry*, 160.

The duel thus referred to took place on the last day of the year, in a pasture near the Roxbury Meeting-house. Gates missed Carter, and Carter refused to fire.

The Penobscot Expedition. — This was seemingly the most formidable and actually the most luckless expedition which Boston sent out during the course of the war. There have been various incidental accounts and illustrative contributions, as detailed in Winsor's *Readers' Handbook of the American Revolution*, p. 208; but during the present year the Weymouth Historical Society has published *The Original Journal of General Solomon Lovell, kept during the Penobscot Expedition*, 1779, *with a Sketch of his Life*, by Gilbert Nash.

Lovell, as colonel of one of the Massachusetts regiments, had been at Dorchester Heights in 1776. The next year he was made the ranking officer of the militia of the seaboard, subordinate to the general of

the department at Boston, — a position which he retained during the war. In 1778 he had

[1] Stuart's superb portrait of Gates is given in photogravure in Mason's *Stuart*, p. 183.

commanded a portion of this militia in the Rhode Island campaign of forty-seven days; and in October following, upon him had devolved the command of the militia hastily assembled at the apprehension of an attack from the British fleet.

In June, 1779, a British force had taken possession of a peninsula on Penobscot Bay, where now Castine is, in order to prevent that region being longer the resort of the active Boston and Salem cruisers, which were preying upon the British supply-ships as they approached the coast. The Massachusetts authorities, with assistance from New Hampshire, at once organized an expedition; and, June 26, put Lovell in command of twelve hundred militia and one hundred artillery. The "Warren," a new ship of thirty-two guns, and the "Providence," a sloop of twelve guns, both Continental vessels, were borrowed; and others were chartered and bought. Peleg Wadsworth, the adjutant-general

Peleg Wadsworth B Genl

of the State, was placed second in command. Paul Revere, then a lieut.-colonel, was put in command of the artillery. The fleet dropped down to Nantasket Roads on the 15th of July, and sailed on the 19th. It consisted of nineteen armed vessels, mounting three hundred and twenty-four guns, manned by over two thousand men, with over twenty transports, — all commanded by Dudley Saltonstall, the captain of the "Warren." After landing on the Maine coast and receiving some recruits from York and Cumberland, of a dubious character, and a few Penobscot Indians, they reached the enemy's station on the 25th. The next day the troops made in part a successful landing; but they were unsupported by the fleet. Two or

Boston April 17th 1779

Artemas Ward

three weeks were consumed in bickerings between the Commodore and the General, with right apparently on the side of Lovell; when a British fleet reinforced the enemy, and led in an attack on the American armed vessels and transports. The result was the destruction of the whole floating armament, and the thorough dispersion of the land forces through the neighboring wilderness. Lovell got back to Boston about the twentieth of September. A court of inquiry, with General Artemas Ward as chairman, exonerated Lovell, and blamed Saltonstall. Their report is in the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxlv., and is printed by Nash.

The Penobscot expedition-rolls are in *Revolutionary Rolls*, xxxvii. 83; with a list of vessels chartered for the service, p. 173, with orders, etc., p. 187. Vol. xxxviii. gives other papers; and also xxxix. p. 113. *Massachusetts Revolutionary Rolls*, xxviii. 58, gives the officers of the expedition, and also the officers of the Boston regiments, and two new regiments.

THE NAVAL SERVICE. — On Dec. 11, 1776, the Government of Massachusetts authorized Mr. John Peck to build an armed vessel of sixteen guns, of a new construction. She was built in Boston, called the "Hazard," was brig-rigged, and of peculiar model. She had a short but brilliant career, and took many prizes, some of them valuable. One was the British brig "Active," Captain Sims, of eighteen guns, sixteen swivels, and one hundred men, captured March 16, 1779, off St. Thomas, W. I., after a sharp action of thirty minutes, during which the "Hazard" lost three killed and five wounded, and the enemy thirteen killed and twenty wounded. She had also an action with a British ship of fourteen guns and eighty men, which, after several attempts to board, sheered off. In these engagements she was commanded by Captain John Foster Williams, who subsequently became celebrated as the commander of the "Protector." The "Hazard" was one of the unfortunate Penobscot expedition, and in August, 1779, was burned by her crew to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

Mr. Peck, who modelled the "Hazard," was the most scientific naval architect whom the United Colonies had produced. Among the vessels built by him during the Revolution were the "Belisarius" and the "Rattlesnake," noted for their stability and swiftness. One hundred years ago it was a common remark that to have a perfect vessel it must have a Boston bottom and Philadelphia sides. The "Belisarius" does not appear on Emmons's Lists, but the "Rattlesnake," a ship of twenty guns, one hundred and eighty-five men, commanded by Mr. Clark in 1781, does. The British claim to have captured a cruiser of the name; but as there were no less than four schooners so named belonging to Pennsylvania, and one from South Carolina, it

may have been one of them. Emmons, in his usually accurate tables, says that the frigates "Hancock" (32), and "Boston" (24), were built in Boston, in 1776; but they were both built by Stephen and Ralph Cross at their yard in Newburyport, by order of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and only equipped in Boston. The "Hancock" was launched July 5, 1776, the day after the Declaration of Independence, and before it had been noised abroad.

In March, 1777, Tucker was put in command of the "Boston;" and on Feb. 17, 1778, he sailed in her to convey John Adams to France on his diplomatic mission.

On the 9th of November, 1776, Congress authorized the purchasing or building of three vessels of seventy-four guns, five of thirty-six guns, one of eighteen guns, and one packet. One of the seventy-fours, and the only vessel of war ordered by the Continental Congress to be built at Boston, was commenced in the yard of Benjamin Goodwin, afterward known as Tilley's Wharf, a short distance from Charlestown. Thomas Cushing, afterward the Lieut.-Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as the agent of the Government, took possession of the dwelling-house, store, wharf, and yard of Goodwin for the purpose of building this ship. It is probable but little progress was made upon her, as we find in the *Journal of Congress*, July 25, 1777, —

"The Marine Committee having represented that the extravagant prices now demanded for all kinds of material used in shipbuilding, and the enormous wages required by tradesmen and laborers, render the building of ships of war already ordered by Congress, not only exceedingly expensive, but also difficult to be accomplished at this time," etc., wherefore it was

"*Resolved*, That the Marine Committee be empowered to put a stop to the building of such of the Continental ships of war already ordered by this Congress to be built, as they shall judge proper, and to resume the building of them again when they shall find it consistent with the interest of the United States to do so."

In 1784, the exigency having passed, the ship was sold on the stocks by Thomas Russell, as agent of the United States. The only seventy-four launched was the "Alliance," built under the superintendence of Paul Jones at Portsmouth, and presented to the French Government in 1782, to replace the "Magnifique," lost in Boston Harbor.

In September, 1777, James Sullivan writes from Boston: "A ship arrived yesterday with twelve thousand nine hundred bushels of salt, and other goods, taken by the 'Tyrannicide,' a Massachusetts brig. Several of our public vessels have arrived within this day or two, from France and Spain, with clothing, tents, and arms; one with ten thousand pounds sterling in value of Dutch cordage. The stores imported by the Massachusetts Board of War are immense."

There is in *Massachusetts Archives*, cxlii. 158, a paper signed by leading Boston merchants, agreeing to fit out two armed ships to protect vessels coming in and going out of the port of Boston. It is dated April 26, 1779.

In September, 1779, the two Continental frigates, "Boston," Captain Tucker, and "Deane," Captain Nicholson, arrived, bringing as prizes two British armed ships, with two hundred and fifty prisoners. Other of their prizes had been ordered to Philadelphia. *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1779; *Independent Chronicle*, Sept. 9, 1779. In 1780 Tucker, rich as he supposed from prize money, moved to Boston, and lived somewhat luxuriously for six years, in Fleet Street; when, meeting embarrassments in fortune, he returned to Marblehead: so Sheppard says in his *Life of Samuel Tucker*, 1868, — a performance of some value, but rather too jejune for an octogenarian to write.

Massachusetts built in 1779 a twenty-gun ship, the "Protector," and gave the command to John Foster Williams, Boston-born, and one of the most conspicuous of the enterprising sea-rovers of the day. A recruiting office was opened on Hancock's Wharf, and by dint of daily parades with drum and fife a crew of two hundred and thirty men was got together; and the ship sailed from Nantasket Roads the first of April, 1780. Williams's first officer was a Marshfield man, Captain George Little, the same who twenty years later commanded the frigate "Boston." The "Protector's" second lieutenant was Joseph Cunningham of Boston. We have an account of her cruise from her log, now in the library of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society; from the *Revolutionary Adventures of Ebenezer Fox of Roxbury*, Boston, 1838; and from the Memoirs (MS.) of Captain Luther Little, who served on board as midshipman and prize-master. She engaged, June 9, an English letter-of-marque, eleven hundred tons, thirty-two guns, and after a severe fight the enemy's ship blew up. The "Protector" landed her sick on the coast of Maine, and came shortly after back to Boston to refit. On this second cruise, during which she sent one prize at least into Boston, commanded by Luther Little, she was overpowered off Nantucket by two English cruisers and taken into New York. Williams and George Little were carried to England, where the former remained as a prisoner till the war closed; while Little, bribing a sentry, escaped to France. See list of "Prisoners Committed to the Old Mill Prison," in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1865, p. 209. There is much about American prisoners at Forton during the Revolutionary War, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1876–79. Washington appointed Williams to the command of the revenue cutter "Massachusetts," in 1790; and in

State of Massachusetts Bay, to Jos Webb — Dr
1777
Aug 20 To making a Jack Colours 44 ft. thread 12 — } £4.0.0
Painting Pine Tree's &c 24/ —
for Brig Freedom Capt Clouston
To 22 yds of narrow Common Bunting added 2/ 2:4:0
John Clouston 6.4.0

this office he died, at seventy, in June, 1814. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1848.

After the defeat of Comte de Grasse in the West Indies, in 1782, a section of his fleet, fourteen sail, under Admiral Vaubiard, arrived in Boston, Aug. 11, 1782; and one of his ships, the "Magnifique," entering by the narrows, was stranded on the bar at Lovell's Island, where her ribs are still embedded in the sand. Many attempts have been fruitlessly made to secure treasure from the wreck. One attempt, made forty or more years ago, gave no return except specimens of very beautiful wood of which the vessel was built. In July, 1859, another trial yielded copper, lead, and cannon-shot in considerable quantities. In 1868–69, when General Foster of the United States Engineers was widening the main ship-channel, his machines brought up, from a depth of more than twenty feet, large pieces of plank and oak timbers, which were thought to be a part of the wreck. The pilot under whose misdirection the vessel was lost became the sexton of the New North Church, and the wilful boys of the parish used to taunt him by chalking this couplet on the meeting-house door: —

> "Don't you run this ship ashore
> As you did the seventy-four."

(Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 552.) In October Mrs. Adams writes: "The French fleet still remain with us, and the British cruisers insult them. More American vessels have been captured since they have lain here than for a year before." — *Familiar Letters*, p. 407.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, April 29, 1776, ordered the naval flag to be a green pine-tree upon a white ground, with an inscription, "Appeal to Heaven." The earliest representation of this emblematic pine-tree now known is found in the vignette of a contemporary French map, and is re-engraved in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 262, and in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 570.

In the autumn of 1776, by orders of the council, the sloop "Freedom," commanded by John Clouston, and the sloop "Republick," commanded by John Foster Williams, had been ordered to Boston; and one of these vessels, at least as late as August of 1777, bore the pine-tree flag, as the annexed bill shows.

The Editor has used in this section some notes kindly furnished by Admiral George Henry Preble, as well as this writer's exhaustive *History of the American Flag*.

The Last Hundred Years.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAST FORTY YEARS OF TOWN GOVERNMENT, 1782–1822.

BY HENRY CABOT LODGE, PH.D.

BETWEEN the Treaty of Peace at Paris, which acknowledged American Independence, and the change of local government in Boston from the form of a town to that of a city, forty years elapsed. That period was to Boston a season of growth and prosperity; the former slow, the latter brilliant at times, and at times clouded by the storms of war which then shook the civilized world. The heroic period in the history of the town in its corporate capacity closed when Washington marched in at the head of his army, and Lord Howe sailed out of Boston Harbor. In the years preceding that event Boston had been the most important name in the long list of English possessions. It had figured in the newspapers, in the conferences of cabinets and the debates of Parliament, with unrivalled frequency. It had lighted the flame of resistance, endured the first stroke of angry rulers, and had witnessed the first disaster to the British arms. During the Revolution, Boston — untouched after the first shock of war had passed away — had her share of glory and suffering; but she ceased to be the central point of resistance, or to attract further the attention of England and Europe. In the forty years which followed the close of the war the old town, as such, took no memorable action, with one or two rare exceptions which will be described in their place. During this period, therefore, the history of Boston is, in its most salient features, interwoven with that of national politics, and, above all, with the fate of a great political party, which found here some of its ablest and most steadfast leaders; and which here, too, preserved longer than anywhere else an almost unbroken ascendancy. The history of the town, then, at this time is to a large extent the history of a party and of the men who composed and led it. In those days subjects of

interest were few in the extreme. The fortunes of the Bostonians were involved in commerce, enterprising, far reaching, and successful;[1] but it may be fairly said, that outside of business and professional work the only intellectual excitement was found in politics; and to politics, consequently, all the strongest and ablest men of the community turned their zealous attention. To understand the history of Boston during the period included between the dates placed at the head of this chapter, it is necessary, if we wish to set in strong relief the characteristic features of the time, and not to wander in a tangled maze of valueless details, to study the fortunes of the ruling political party in the town. In that party, or in opposition to it, we must sooner or later meet with every man of importance; in their contests we must deal with every question which affected the interests of the town as well as those of the State or Nation; and thus we cannot fail to comprehend the general character of the life and society of that day and generation.

The peace of 1782 found Boston shorn of many of the attributes which had made her the first among the towns of the English colonies in America. The population, which before the war had numbered nearly twenty thousand, sank at the time of the siege to six thousand, comprising only those absolutely unable to get away; and when peace came it had risen to but little over twelve thousand. Military occupation, pestilence, and the flight of the Tory party had done their work, and had more than decimated the people. Commerce, the main support of the inhabitants, suffered severely in the war, and had been only partially replaced by the uncertain successes of the privateers. The young men had been drawn away to the army; both State and Confederacy were practically bankrupt; and the disorganization consequent upon seven years of civil war was great and disastrous. Boston was brought face to face with this gloomy condition of her affairs when the long strain of the Revolution was removed by the Treaty of Paris, and her people, with characteristic energy, set to work at once to remedy their misfortunes. Again the harbor was whitened with the sails of merchant ships, once more the trades began to flourish with their old activity in shop and ship-yard,[2] and the old bustle and movement were seen anew in the streets; but there was much weary work to be done before the ravages of war could be repaired. Ten years elapsed before the population reached the point at which it stood prior to the Revolution; and in that decade both town and State had much to endure in settling the legacies always bequeathed to a community by civil strife. The adjustment of social, financial, and political balances, after such a wrenching of the body politic, was a slow and in some respects a harsh and trying process, and many years passed before a condition of stable equilibrium was again attained.

The mere fact of revolution implies, of course, a rearrangement of classes in any community to a greater or less extent. In the provincial times, although the political system and theory of Massachusetts were demo-

[1] [See Mr. H. A. Hill's chapter in Vol. IV. — ED.]

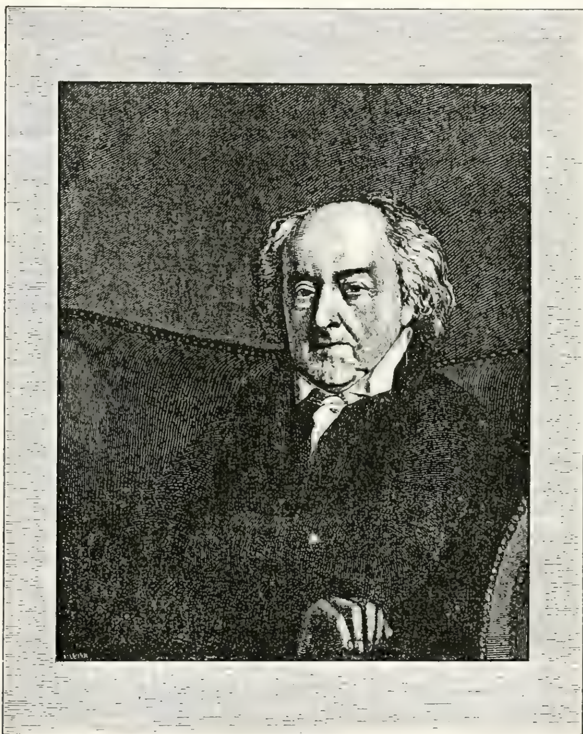
[2] [See the chapter on "Industries" in Vol. IV. — ED.]

cratic, there was a vigorous and powerful aristocracy holding all the appointed and many of the elective offices, and recognized as leaders in public affairs. As a rule, this provincial aristocracy, which had its headquarters in Boston, was strongly in sympathy with the Crown, and abandoned the country on the success of the Patriots, either in the great flight which took place when Howe evacuated Boston, or singly, when opportunity offered. Their estates were confiscated, and they themselves took refuge for the most part in the northern provinces, and sometimes in England; but wherever they were their loyalty was remembered, and they were aided by the English Government.[1] Here and there exceptions to this rule could, of course, be found,—as notably in the case of John Hancock and the Quincys; although even in the latter family of Patriots one distinguished member was a Tory, and went into exile in consequence.[2] There were a few others of this class who, while their sympathies were with England, managed to preserve a judicious neutrality, and remained in their native town, suspected by many, and stripped of all political power, but retaining their social position, and after many years regaining some portion of their influence. These remnants of the provincial aristocracy were at best but trifling, and new men had ample openings in the great gaps which war had made. The new men, of course, came; and equally, of course, they were the leaders of the successful Revolution. They were not, however, as commonly happens in such cases, drawn from the class immediately below that which had been overthrown. The country aristocracy, the squires and gentry of the small towns and villages, unlike their brethren of the capital, had been as a rule on the side of resistance to England, and had furnished most of the Revolutionary leaders. When their battle was won, many of them came up from their counties and settled in Boston, occupying the places of their banished opponents, and not infrequently by cheap purchases becoming possessors of the confiscated homes of the exiles. To this class, which, to borrow a very famous name, may be not inaptly styled the Country party, belonged, for example, the Adamses and Fisher Ames from Norfolk, the Prescotts from Middlesex, and the Sullivans from New Hampshire; while from Essex, most prolific of all, came the Parsonses, Pickerings, Lees, Jacksons, Cabots, Lowells, Grays, and Elbridge Gerry. These men and their families rapidly filled the places left vacant in society by the old supporters of the Crown, and, of course, already possessed the political power which they had gained by the victories of the Revolution. This new aristocracy maintained for many years the ascendancy in public affairs which had been held by their predecessors, but their tenure, weakened by the ideas developed in the Revolution, was more precarious; and although they dictated the policy of the State for nearly half a century, their power as a class broke down and disappeared before the rapid rise and spread of democracy during the lifetime of the next generation.

[1] [See Editorial Notes at the end of Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume.—ED.]

[2] [This was Samuel Quincy, Solicitor-General of the Province, a brother of Josiah Quincy, Jr., the Patriot. There is a biography of him in the appendix to *Curwen's Journal*.—ED.]

The Patriot party — the Whigs of the Revolution — triumphed so completely by the result of the war that they found themselves not only masters of the field in 1782, but absolutely unopposed. In their own numbers future party divisions were in due time formed, and we can detect the germ of those divisions, even before the peace, in the Constitutional Convention which met at Boston in 1780.[2] The old chiefs as a rule leaned, as



JOHN ADAMS.[1]

[1] [This cut, made by the kind permission of the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, follows Stuart's portrait of the old statesman, taken in 1825, a year before his death, in his eighty-ninth year. See Mason's *Stuart*, p. 125. A portrait by Copley, showing him in court dress, painted in 1783, was given to Harvard College in 1828 by W. N. Boylston, is engraved in Adams's *Works*, vol. v., and hangs in Memorial Hall, where is another by J. Trumbull, given by Andrew Cragie in 1794. Another by Stuart is owned by Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston. There is in the Historical Society's cabinet a copy, by Stuart Newton, of Gilbert Stuart's portrait. See *Proceedings*, April, 1862, p. 3. The *Boston Magazine*, February, 1784, has a full-face portrait of John Adams, engraved by J. Norman. — ED.]

[2] [See Mr. Charles Deane's valuable paper on the connection of Judge Lowell with the Declaration of Rights, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*,

might be expected, to popular and democratic views; but what was more important, they belonged, like Sam Adams, to the class of minds which can destroy or defend, but which cannot construct. The younger leaders, on the other hand, belonged to the coming period of reconstruction, when a new fabric of politics and society was to be built up, and were more conservative and less democratic than those whom they had followed in the conflict with England. The first serious division of opinion in the Patriot party grew out of the difficulties engendered by the war. The heaviest burdens were financial. Debts, public and private, weighed severely upon the State, and upon nearly every member of the community. General insolvency, in fact, prevailed. The war had drained the country of specie; the Continental paper was worthless, and that of the State not much better. The scarcity of a decent circulating medium was so great that payments in kind were legalized. To thinking men it was already obvious that a strong central government, stability, order in the public finances, and a vigorous administration, both State and National, were essential to drag the country out of the chaos of floating debts, and knit once more the political bonds almost dissolved by war. To effect such results was no easy matter. Society and public opinion had been grievously shaken, and old habits had been loosened and weakened. As always happens in times of distress and depression, there were many among the more ignorant of the community who mistook effect for cause. They were poor and in debt; and in the means adopted by their creditors to collect debts through the usual legal machinery, they believed they saw the source of their sufferings. The popular feeling of discontent in the western part of the State, therefore, began as early as 1782 to express itself in resistance to law and to the courts. Matters went on from bad to worse; violence and force became more and more common; the power of the State was crippled; and at last it all culminated in the insurrection known in our history as Shays' Rebellion, which not only threatened the existence of the Commonwealth, but shook to its foundations the unstable fabric of the Confederacy. While the storm was gathering, John Hancock, the popular hero and governor, not fancying the prospect opening before the State, and the consequent difficulties and dangers likely to beset the chief magistrate, took himself out of the way, and the younger and more conservative element in politics elected James Bowdoin in his stead. It was a fortunate choice in every way. Bowdoin was a wise, firm, courageous man, perfectly ready to sacrifice popularity, if need be, to the public good. He was warmly supported in Boston, as the principles and objects of Shays and his followers were peculiarly obnoxious to a business community. The alarm in the town was very great, for it looked as if their contest for freedom was about to result in anarchy. The young men came forward, armed themselves, and volunteered for service; but the Governor's firmness was all that was needed. General Lincoln, at the head of the mili-

April, 1874, p. 299; also Governor Bullock's admirable paper in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, April 27, 1881. — ED.]

tia, easily crushed the feeble mob gathered by Shays, whose followers were entirely dispersed.[1] Nevertheless the rioters represented, although in a very extreme fashion, the general sentiment of the State, demoralized and shaken by civil war, as was shown by the almost criminal delay of the lower branch of the Legislature in sustaining the Governor in his efforts to maintain order, and by their reluctance to declare the insurgents in rebellion,—a step forced upon them by the vigor of the Governor and Senate. This unhappy condition of public opinion was still more strongly manifested at the next election. The issue was made up between pardon and sympathy for the rebels on the one side and just and salutary punishment on the other. The conservative party, in favor of the latter course, put forward Bowdoin; while Hancock, who had been under shelter, now came forward once more to catch the popular support as the advocate of mercy, which another better and braver man had alone earned the right to dispense. Hancock had chosen his time well. Popular feeling in the country districts was with the insurgents, and Bowdoin was defeated; although Boston, now thoroughly in the hands of the younger and more conservative party, strongly sustained him. Thus the new party of order and reconstruction started in Boston, which continued to be its headquarters; and gradually extending its influence, first through the eastern towns and then to the west, came finally to control the State.

The Shays Rebellion did more, however, than decide the elections in Massachusetts. It was without doubt an efficient cause in promoting the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, and in frightening the decrepit and obstructive Congress of the Confederation. The adoption of the Constitution, submitted by the delegates who met in Philadelphia, was an event of national as well as local importance, for the adhesion of the great State of Massachusetts was essential to success. Boston was the scene of the protracted struggle in the Convention which was held to consider this

[1] [The story of this insurrection enters into the substance of all histories of Massachusetts, but it has been amply told by G. R. Minot, in his monograph, *Insurrections in Massachusetts in 1786*, published in 1788, and in a second edition in 1810; and there are numerous references to contemporary and other authorities in a chapter on it in Barry's *Massachusetts*, iii. ch. 6. See also Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, No. 29, and Holland's *Western Massachusetts*. There is a volume in the *Massachusetts Archives* on Shays' Insurrection. A company of light infantry was raised in Boston to act against the insurgents, Harrison Gray Otis being made captain, with Thomas Russell and John Gray as lieutenants. Boston liberally supplied the means by which, in January, General Lincoln was put in command of forty-four hundred men, and with these he marched from Roxbury on the twenty-first.

When Bowdoin went to Cambridge to review Brooks's troops, being then about fifty-eight years old, he is described as wearing a gray wig, cocked hat, white broadcloth coat and waistcoat, red small-clothes, and black silk stockings. Sullivan's *Public Men*, letter ii. *Massachusetts Revolutionary Rolls*, ix. contains certificates of service in Shays' Rebellion. — ED.]

momentous question, first in Brattle-Street Church, still bearing the marks of Washington's cannon, and later in the State House, and later still in the meeting-house in Long Lane.[1] The town was, of course, deeply interested in the result, and strongly in favor of the Constitution; but the details of the long conflict which ended in its adoption do not immediately concern this history. The conservative elements, which had

JAMES BOWDOIN.[2]

begun to take a party shape in the Shays Rebellion, developed into a strong and homogeneous body in favor of the Constitution. They had an arduous battle to fight, and they fought it well. Against them were arrayed all the sympathizers with the Shays Rebellion, besides many who had actually taken part in it, and who, having tasted the sweets of incipient anarchy, were averse to anything like strong government. There can be no

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 513.—Ed.]

[2] [This cut follows a miniature by Copley, painted about 1770, now owned by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Bowdoin's descendant. See Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 37. There is a profile of Bowdoin in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, January, 1791. Mr. Winthrop delivered at Bowdoin College an excellent address on Bowdoin's life and character, which is contained in his *Speeches* and in a later volume on *Bowdoin, Franklin, and Washington*, from the same gentleman. A privately printed edition, with additions and notes of the *Life and Services of Bowdoin*, bears date 1876.

doubt that at the outset public feeling and a majority of the Convention were against the Constitution; and, moreover, the great leaders of the Revolutionary period, Hancock and Adams, were lukewarm. By ability in debate, by perseverance, by managing and flattering Hancock,[1] these difficulties were gradually overcome; while to gain the earnest and active support of Adams, the popular sentiment of Boston was invoked. The mechanics of the town, under the lead of Paul Revere, held a great meeting at the Green-Dragon Tavern,[2] on Union Street, and passed resolutions in favor of the Constitution. This was the voice of an oracle to which Adams had often appealed in trying times, and its utterance now weighed with him, and changed cool and critical approval to active support. Perhaps it decided the fate of the Constitution; for the great influence of Adams may well have counted for much in a close majority of only nineteen votes.

The adoption of the Constitution by Massachusetts was a source of great satisfaction to Boston,[3] and was celebrated with great rejoicing. After the ratification the members of the Convention dined together, toasts were drunk, and the asperities of debate were forgotten for the moment in a general sense of pleasure and relief. The next day a procession paraded the streets. First came the representatives of agriculture; then the trades; then the "Ship Federal Constitution," drawn by thirteen horses, with a crew of thirteen men; then captains and seamen of merchant-vessels; and finally more trades and the militia companies. The procession visited the houses of the Boston delegates, fired salutes in front of the State House, while the proceedings concluded with another great public dinner. In the evening an old long-boat, named "The Old Confederation," was borne by another procession to the Common, and there burned amid the shouts of the people.

With intense interest Boston watched the adoption of the Constitution by one State after another; and we can see, in the newspapers, the rapid development of the new party of reconstruction, the friends of the Constitution, now known as Federalists, and the corresponding increase of bitterness toward all who attempted to thwart a measure believed, in Boston at least, to involve the future existence of the nation. The party which thus took shape in the debates of the Constitutional Convention, and was solidified and strengthened by victory, bent all its energies to selecting senators and representatives who were well known to be strong friends of

1 [Referring to Hancock's proposition of amendments, which perhaps saved the Constitution in the Convention, Rufus King writes to General Knox: "Hancock will hereafter receive the universal support of Bowdoin's friends; and we tell him that if Virginia does not unite, which is problematical, that he is considered as the only fair candidate for President." We all know the sequel: Virginia did unite; and the Massachusetts Governor had a very bad attack of gout when the Virginian President visited Boston the next year. See Amory's *James Sullivan*, i. 223. — ED.]

2 [See Vol. II. p. v. — ED.]

3 [The debates of this convention, edited by B. K. Peirce and Charles Hale, were published by the State in 1856 The "conciliatory resolutions" introduced by Hancock were written by Parsons (*Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, 70), though their authorship has been claimed for James Sullivan, and perhaps for others. Some of Dr. Belknap's minutes of the debates are printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1858, p. 296. See Mr. Cummings's chapter in this volume for an account of Benjamin Russell's reports. — ED.]

the new scheme. Flushed with their first triumph, the Federalists were generally successful, and both senators were tried friends of the Constitution; but their most signal victory was in the Boston District,[1] where they elected Fisher Ames,[2] the young and eloquent champion of the Constitution, over Sam Adams, the veteran of the Revolution, the idol of the town, but now suspected of coolness toward the great instrument which was destined to be the corner-stone of a nation. The defeat of Adams by Ames marked Boston as the great centre of New England Federalism.

The pleasure excited in Boston by the successful establishment of the new government found an opportunity for expression when Washington, — venerated and beloved, the mainstay of the Union, as he had been of the Revolution, — made his visit to Massachusetts in the autumn of 1789. The President, accompanied by the Vice-President, John Adams, was received by the authorities on the outskirts of the town;[3] and, having been presented with an address, rode through the streets on a fine white horse, escorted by a long procession,[4] civil and military, and greeted on all sides by the applause of a dense crowd. On arriving at the State House he was conducted to a platform thrown out on the west side of the building,

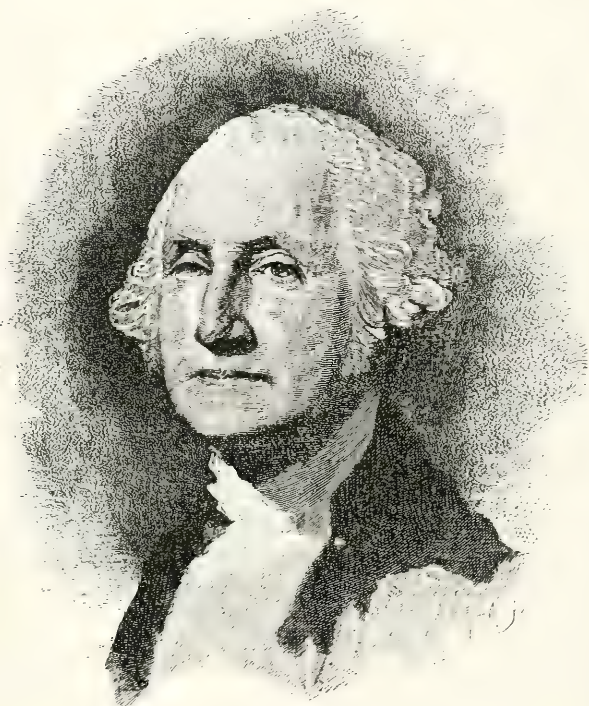
[1] [On April 12, John Adams, on his way to New York to become the first Vice-President under the new Constitution, was escorted into Boston from Roxbury by a troop of horse. Amid the ringing of bells he was carried to Governor Hancock's, where he lunched with the dignitaries; and then, amid another firing of cannon, he went on his journey. — ED.]

[2] [The son of Fisher Ames, Seth Ames, Esq., in making in 1854 a new edition of the works, speeches, and correspondence of his father, concluded that as his own recollections were of no account, — he was but three years old at his father's death, — he could not do better by way of introduction than to give the kindly memoir by Dr. Kirkland, and let the letters, then first printed, stand as a supplement to it. In 1871 a new contribution to the subject appeared in a volume of Ames's *Speeches in Congress*, 1789–1796, edited by Pelham W. Ames, including five speeches not given in his works. Fisher Ames studied in the office of William Tudor, in Boston, and though his residence in the town was not a long one, he represented it as part of the Suffolk District in the First Congress. It was he, too, when Washington died, who was selected to pronounce a eulogy before the Legislature in Boston. On his own death, in 1808, his body was brought to Boston, that Samuel Dexter might pronounce an oration over it. Stuart's portrait of Ames is owned by Mrs. John E. Lodge, of Boston, descending to her from her grandfather, George Cabot, Ames's friend. The likeness in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, is a copy, not accounted good, by Stuart, purchased of him in 1810. Mason's *Stuart*, p. 127. A good engraving, by T. Kelley, of Stuart's Fisher Ames appeared in the *Boston Monthly Magazine*, January, 1826. He is the subject of some further biographical details in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 296. — ED.]

[3] [As Washington approached Boston he was met by a troop of horse from Cambridge, and in this town he tarried an hour, to visit the mansion which had been his headquarters at the time of the siege. His chariot was now changed for the saddle, and at the village green General Brooks saluted him with a thousand militia in line. — ED.]

[4] [The procession was headed by the band of the French fleet then in the harbor, which at the same time united its salvos with those of the Castle and the parading artillery companies; while Colonel Bradford, with five companies of city troops, took the lead. It will be remembered that before the start was made Washington was kept waiting in the cold while an unseemly altercation took place between the selectmen and Sheriff Henderson, who was present representing the Governor, and assumed to control the order of the march. The sheriff threatened "to make a hole" through some of the town's officers, and they waived their rights. They later, Dec. 12, 1789, wrote an indignant letter to Hancock, who replied by sending Henderson's version of the affair, in which he claimed to have acted "according to his Excellency's orders," which Hancock did not gainsay; and to this the selectmen returned a temperate reply that they should not presume to altercate with his Excellency, etc. The letters are in the Charity Building collection. — ED.]

and arranged, as we are informed, "to exhibit in a strong light the *Man of the People.*" As Washington stood forth in all his simple majesty,



WASHINGTON.[1]

cheers rang out, and an ode was sung in his honor by singers placed in a triumphal arch close by. After this the procession broke up, and then for

[1] [This cut follows the well known Boston Athenæum head by Stuart, now in the Art Museum. Washington gave the artist sittings in the spring of 1796; it was never finished. This picture was bought, after Stuart's death, of his widow, and given to the Athenæum, which also owns the companion head of Mrs. Washington, and a considerable portion of Washington's library. See Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, 103, for a photogravure of the original canvas. It is from this that Stuart's later pictures of Washington were reproduced. Replicas of Stuart's Washington, varying sometimes in accessories, are owned in Boston: one by Chief-Justice Gray, formerly the property of the Pinckney family, of South Carolina; one painted for Jonathan Mason, now owned by Mrs. William Appleton; a copy of the Athenæum head, made in 1810 for Josiah Quincy, now at Quincy; one belonging to the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, formerly owned by the MacDonald family; one which was in a series of the first five presidents of the United States, bought of Col. George Gibbs's estate by Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge. These items are taken from a long

several days there was a round of dinners and state visits. Washington lived during his stay in Boston on the corner of Tremont and Court streets, where a small and lofty tablet still commemorates his sojourn. The most amusing incident of his visit, and the one most characteristic both of the men and the times, was the little conflict between him and John Hancock on a point of etiquette. Hancock, as the chief officer of what he esteemed a sovereign State, undertook to regard Washington as a sort of foreign potentate, who was bound to pay the first visit to the ruler of the Commonwealth in which he found himself; while Washington took the view that he was the superior officer of the Governor of Massachusetts, and that, as the head of the Union, Hancock was bound to visit him first. Washington's sense of dignity, and of what was due to his position, had often been exemplified, and the Governor's vanity and State sovereignty were no match for it. Hancock prudently made the gout an excuse for giving way; and having as fine a sense as the first Pitt of the theatrical properties of his malady, appeared at Washington's door, swathed in flannel, and was borne on men's shoulders to the President's apartments. After this all went well, and Washington's visit not only drew out the really vigorous personal loyalty of the people, but still further kindled the en-

enumeration of copies, by himself, of Stuart's likenesses of Washington given by Mr. Mason.

A silhouette of Washington, taken during the last years of his presidency, is now preserved in the Mass. Hist. Society's cabinet, of which a heliotype is given in their *Proceedings*, December, 1873.

The Historical Society also owns a copy of C. W. Peale's full-length of Washington, following the copy owned by the Earl of Albemarle; while other repetitions of Peale's work are at present in the Smithsonian Institution, at Versailles, and at the College of New Jersey. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1873-75, pp. 324, 350, 366, 375-77.

In 1851 there was published in Boston a profile likeness of Washington, purporting to have been taken in Boston, in 1776, by one Fullerton. A pen-and-ink sketch, marked J. Hiller, 1794, mentioned in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1874, p. 243, is thought to have been drawn from this. It is thought that a miniature likeness of Washington, in plaster, mentioned as belonging to Mr. Melvin Lord, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1874, p. 254, may have been taken in Boston or Cambridge at the time of the siege.

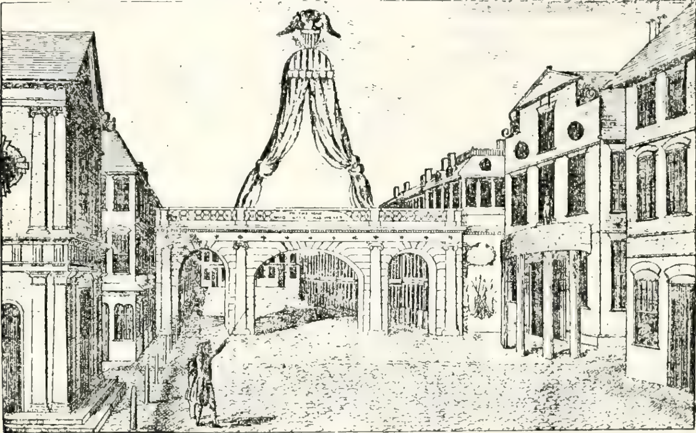
During Washington's visit to Boston in 1789, Gullagher, the painter, stealthily made a likeness of the General, while he was at chapel; but a day or two later, following him to Portsmouth, he made the likeness which is engraved in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1858, p. 309. The artist sold his picture in Boston, by a raffle, and it finally came into the possession of Dr. Belknap. Harvard College had given its first doctorate of laws to Washington in 1776; and at the request of its corporation his likeness was painted in 1790 by Edward Savage, of which there is an engraving by the artist, published in 1793. The painting hangs in Memorial Hall.

Christ Church contains the first monument ever erected to his memory. It is a bust in marble, of which photographs have recently been taken by Notman at the instance of Mr. John C. Ropes. Chantrey's statue of Washington, which stands in the State House, was erected in 1828, at a cost of $15,000. In this building are to be seen fac-similes of the monumental stones erected in the church at Brington, Northamptonshire, to the memory of members of the Washington family, who were long supposed to be ancestors of George Washington, the reproductions having been given by Earl Spencer to Charles Sumner, and by him to the State, in 1861. Later investigations of Colonel Joseph L. Chester have rendered it almost certain that the American family did not spring from this stock. See *Herald and Genealogist*, London, and *Heraldic Journal*, Boston, 1866. The equestrian statue in the Public Garden, modelled by Thomas Ball, of which an engraving is given in Vol. IV. was not placed in position till 1869, though begun some years earlier.

It was after this visit of the General, in 1789, that the main thoroughfare into the town from Roxbury was named for him; but the various names that designated this street north of Dover Street, were not displaced, and the name applied to the whole length of it, till 1824. — Ed.]

thusiasm of Boston and of New England for the Union, and consequently strengthened the hands of the Federalists.[1]

The assumption of the State debts by the new Federal government did much to relieve the financial burdens of Massachusetts; and this, combined with the sense of stability in public affairs, aroused the spirit of enterprise everywhere, so that Boston became the centre of many great schemes for public improvements, most of which came to nothing, although they served, nevertheless, to encourage the business of the town. The population had



THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH.[2]

again reached the number which it had before the Revolution, and the new era to which the war had been a prelude was fairly begun. As if to mark the change which had set in, one of the most conspicuous characters of the old period passed away at this time, by the death of John Hancock.[3] There have been but few men in history who have achieved so much fame, and whose names are so familiar, who at the same time really did so little, and left so slight a trace of personal influence upon the times in which they lived, as John Hancock. He was valuable chiefly from his pictur-

[1] [Recollections of Washington's visit, by General W. H. Sumner, are printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1854, and April, 1860, p 161. See also Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 114; Edward Everett's *Mount Vernon Papers*, 106. See the account of the musical accompaniments in the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop's *Speeches and Addresses*, 1852–1867, p 330. Some explanations by Nathaniel Gorham upon the disturbance between Hancock and Washington, printed in Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 15, throw a light upon the matter more favorable to Hancock. — Ed.]

[2] [This is a fac-simile of the view of this triumphal arch, which appeared in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, January, 1790. The erection stretched with a triple arch across Washington Street, just north of Court Street. The inscription read: "To the man who unites all hearts." — Ed.]

[3] [Hancock died Oct. 8, 1793, and was buried in the Granary burying-ground. See Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 212. — Ed.]

esqueness. Everything about him is picturesque, from his bold, handsome signature,[1] which gave him an assured immortality, to his fine house which appears in the pictures of the day as the "Seat of His Excellency, John Hancock." His position, wealth, and name made him valuable to the real movers of the Revolution, when men of his stamp were almost without exception on the side of the Crown; and it was this which made such a man as Sam Adams cling to and advance him, and which gave him a factitious importance. Hancock was far from greatness; indeed it is to be feared that he was not much removed from being "the empty barrel," which is the epithet, tradition says, that the outspoken John Adams applied

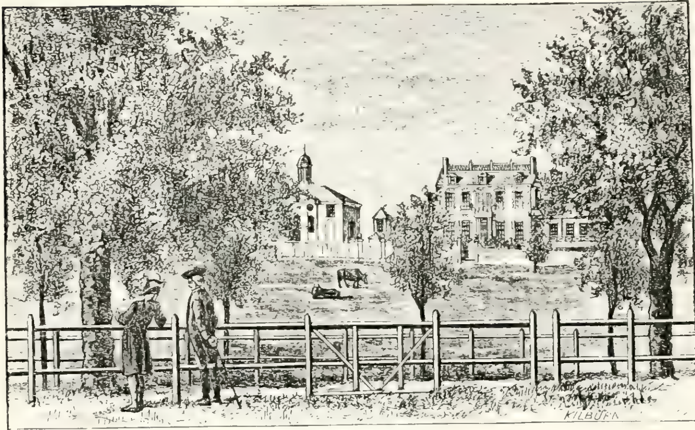
to him.[2] And yet he had real value after all. He was the Alcibiades, in a certain way, of the rebellious little Puritan town; and his display and gorgeousness no doubt gratified the sober, hard-headed community which put him at its head and kept him there. He stands out with a fine show of lace and velvet and dramatic gout, a real aristocrat, shining and resplendent against the cold gray background of every-day life in the Boston of the days after the Revolution, when the gay official society of the Province had been swept away. At the side of his house he built a dining hall, where he could assemble fifty or sixty guests; and when his company was gathered he would be borne or wheeled in, and with easy grace de-

[1] [Few signatures are so well known as Hancock's; and, as it happens, that oftenest seen, attached to the Declaration of Independence and given in the text, is one of the boldest and finest of them all. Ordinarily his signature, though preserving some of the characteristics of that, lacked its steadiness and regularity of curve. That which is given in Mr. Scudder's chapter, and under his portrait in Vol. IV. p. 5, is more nearly an average one. The one annexed, taken from a writing of his college days, shows some of the possibilities of the later ones. —ED.]

Harvard College May 1. 1754

Your ever Loving Brother
till Death shall separate us.
John Hancock

[2] [Yet see what John Adams says of him in *Works*, x. 259–261; and the grandson, Charles Francis Adams, not unfairly estimates the value of Hancock to his times in the brief memoir of him prepared in 1876, which is printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, i. 73. A favorable account is given in Sanderson's *Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, which has been by some attributed to John Adams; but see John Adams's *Works*, ii. 416. See also Tudor's *Life of Otis*, p. 261, and H. E. Scudder's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]



THE HANCOCK HOUSE.[1]

light every one by his talk and finished manners. In society his pettiness, peevishness, and narrowness would vanish, and his true value as a brilliant

[1] [This cut follows a view of the house given in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, July, 1789; also given in heliotype in the *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 99. Another view of it, twenty years later or more, will be found in the view of upper Beacon Street, taken from the Common in 1804–1811, given in the fourth volume; and a still later view (1825) is that in Snow's *Boston*, p. 325. Views of it as it appeared at a later day, when but a mere house-yard was left about it, are numerous. Hinton, *United States*, Boston, 1834, ii. 342; S. A. Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 339; S. G. Drake's *Boston*, p. 681; King's *Handbook of Boston*, p. 12; Lossing's *Field-book of the Revolution*, i. 507, etc.

In 1859 a strenuous effort was made in the State Legislature to secure the passage of a bill by which the Commonwealth should become the owner of the house, using it for the residence of its Governors, or for any other good purpose. The Governor had raised the question of its purchase in his message, and a committee with the Hon. Edward G. Parker at its head had recommended that $100,000 be appropriated for the purpose, and the heirs executed a bond to sell for that sum. This report was printed in the Boston newspapers, in February, 1859. The Hon. Charles W. Upham, March 17, 1859, made a strong appeal in the House of Representatives, in urging the claims of Hancock on the grateful recognition of the State, and this speech is reported in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 24, 1859. The project failed; and finally, on Feb. 18, 1863, the land was sold to James M. Beebe and Gardner Brewer, for $125,000, who built for their own occupancy the two houses now standing on the site. The mansion was reserved for re-erection elsewhere; but this plan likewise miscarried, and it was at last pulled down and sold as old material. The knocker of the front door was given to Dr. O. W. Holmes, who put it on the door of the old Holmes house in Cambridge. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1875, p. 38. There is a historical account, by Arthur Gilman, of the Hancock house and its founder, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1863, p. 692. The house was built in 1737, by Thomas Hancock (see Vol. II. p. 519, for his portrait), of whom there is an account by Alden Bradford, in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, i. 346; and who, dying in 1764, left his mansion and the bulk of his estate to his nephew, John Hancock. See the genealogy in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* ix. 352. There is no trace of a grant to warrant the use of the arms borne by John Hancock. (*Heraldic Journal*, ii. 99.) For a time after he resigned the presidency of Congress, Hancock lived during the summer in Jamaica Plain, in a cottage which stood just beyond the present residence of Mr. Moses Williams. The story goes that he gave up his residence there because his neighbor, William Gordon, the historical writer, who was one of the overseers of Harvard College, greatly offended Hancock by his severe strictures on Hancock's neglect to settle his accounts as treasurer of that institution. — Ed.]

and picturesque figure would come out. His death was but one of the incidents which, as the old century hastened to its close, marked the change which had fairly come. The old simplicity, as well as the old stateliness and pomp, were alike slipping away. Those were the days when the gentry lived in large houses, enclosed by handsome gardens, and amused themselves with card parties, dancing parties, and weddings; when there were no theatres, and nothing in the way of relaxation except these little social festivities. But the enemy was at the gates, — a great, hurrying, successful, driving democracy. Brick blocks threatened the gardens; the theatre came, despite the august mandate of Governor Hancock;[1] the elaborate and stately dress of the eighteenth century began to be pushed aside, first for grotesque and then for plainer fashions;[2] the little interests of provincial days began to wane; Unitarianism sapped the foundations of the stout old church of Winthrop and Cotton;[3] and the eager zest for intellectual excitement poured itself into business and politics, the only channels then open, giving to the latter an intensity hardly to be appreciated in days when mental resources are as numerous as they then were few. Boston was feeling the effects of the revolution which had been wrought by the War for Independence, the first act of the mighty revolutionary drama just then reopening in Paris.

To this change and progress in society and in habits of life the French Revolution gave of course a powerful impetus.[4] The tidings from Paris were received in this country at first with a universal burst of exultation, which found as strong expression in Boston as anywhere. The success of Dumouriez was the occasion of a great demonstration. A liberty pole was raised,[5] an ox roasted, and bread and wine distributed in State Street; while Sam Adams, who had succeeded his old companion as Governor, presided, with the French Consul, at a great civic banquet in Faneuil Hall. The follies of the Parisian mob were rapidly adopted; "Liberty and Equality" was stamped on children's cakes; and the sober merchants and mechanics of Boston began to address each other as "citizen" Brown, and "citizen" Smith. The ridiculous side of all this business would soon have made itself felt among a people whose sense of humor was one of their strongest characteristics; but when the farce became tragedy, and freedom was baptized in torrents of blood, and the gentle, timid, stupid king, known to Americans only as a kind friend, was brought to the block, the enthusiasm rapidly subsided.[6] Every one knows how the affairs of France were dragged into our national politics for party purposes, with Democratic societies and Jacobin clubs in their train, and the bitterness which came

[1] [See the chapter on "The Drama," by Colonel Clapp, in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[2] [See Mr. J. P. Quincy's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[3] [See Dr. Peabody's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[4] [See its effect on the press, noted in Mr. Cummings's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[5] [The pole, sixty feet high, was raised, Jan. 24, 1793, in the area then named, and since called, Liberty Square. The ox was roasted on Copp's Hill, and the viands were served on tables in State Street, stretching from the Old State House to near Kilby Street. — Ed.]

[6] [See Mr. J. P. Quincy's chapter in Vol. IV. p. 11. — Ed.]

from them; but all this gained little foothold in Boston, where the insults of Genet roused general indignation, and the attitude of Washington toward the insolent Frenchman found hearty support. But fidelity to Washington and to the Federalist party was about to encounter a much severer strain. The war with England was so recent that it was hazardous to make any treaty with that country, and to carry through such a treaty as was actually made was a task for which Washington alone was capable. The Jay treaty, — which even Hamilton is said to have called, in the first moment of irritation, "an old woman's treaty" on the one side; and which Charles Fox, with all his liberalism, thought unfavorable to England on the other, — was received in America with a cry of rage so general that it seemed universal. In Boston a popular meeting[1] was held, and Democratic leaders indulged in vehement and acceptable denunciation. Riots broke out of a rather ugly character, which Governor Adams, blinded by prejudice, refused to repress;[2] and the excellent Mr. Jay was hung and burned in effigy, to the perfect satisfaction of the mob. The Federalists were stunned. Many of them openly condemned the treaty, while only the very coolest heads among them believed in sustaining the administration. Gradually, however, the leaders rallied. The Boston Chamber of Commerce passed resolutions in support of the President; reaction began; the stern, calm replies of Washington checked the tide of angry passion, and men at last began to see, especially in a business community, that the treaty, even if not the best possible, was necessary and valuable, and that the fortunes of the young nation could not be entangled with those of the mad French Republic. Boston was once more Federalist, and the stormy gust of anger had blown over.[3]

The growth of the Federalist party was shown when Sam Adams retired from public life, by the choice of Increase Sumner[4] as his successor. Governor Sumner was an ardent supporter of John Adams, then just beginning his eventful administration, and the troubles with France which ensued awakened deep indignation in Boston. Sumner's course drew out the most violent attacks, but he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. The fortunes of the Feder-

[1] [At a town-meeting convened in Boston to consider it but one defender of it spoke. The selectmen transmitted to the President their Resolutions of disapproval, and drew from Washington a dignified reply. Sullivan's *Public Men*, p. 96. See further, on the opposition to Jay's treaty in Boston, in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 307. Harrison Gray Otis at this time made his first political speech. — ED.]

[2] Wells's *Life of S. Adams*, iii. 351.

[3] [It was the masterly speech of Fisher Ames which carried the House of Representatives into measures sustaining it. This, the most famous of his speeches, is in his *Works*, and in the later *Speeches*, where an interesting note on it is prefixed. — ED.]

[4] [Increase Sumner was born in Roxbury. See a memoir and genealogy in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1854; also *Genealogy of the Sumner Family*, by W. S. Appleton, 1880; General W. H. Sumner's *History of East Boston*; and Bridgman's *Pilgrims of Boston*. — ED.]

alists were at their highest point, and Moses Gill, the Lieut.-Governor, whom the death of Sumner left at the head of the government, was succeeded by Caleb Strong,[1] an ex-senator and one of the stanchest of Federalists. But even in the midst of their success the hour of their downfall was at hand. The administration of John Adams was torn with fierce internal dissension, and the President and the leaders in New England were hopelessly estranged. But although many of the chiefs in Boston drew off from the President, the clans stood by him and gave him the vote of Massachusetts. It proved a useless loyalty. The Federalists fell from power, and the new century opened with the accession of Jefferson, — an event which both leaders and followers in Boston had brought themselves to believe would be little else than the coming of a Marat or a Robespierre. It is hardly necessary to say that nothing of this sort happened, but that on the contrary a period of prosperity, for which the short-lived peace of Amiens opened the way, began, as unequalled as it was unexpected. This prosperity took the form of maritime commerce, and poured its riches into the lap of Boston, conspicuously among all the seaports.[2] At the same time, of course, all the country throve, although the great advance was most apparent among the merchants of Boston and New York and the seafaring population of New England. When men are making money and prospering it is not easy to awaken among them great political enthusiasm, nor is it easy to convince them that the administration under which they have succeeded is a bad one; but this was not the case with the leaders. Nothing could check their deadly hatred of Jefferson, which increased as they saw their own power decline and that of the Government wax strong. As the conviction forced itself upon their minds that the sceptre of government had passed finally to the South, before whom a divided North was helpless, they struggled vainly against fate; and the bitterness of party, so marked in the first decade of the century, found its origin in the years of Jefferson's first term, when peace and prosperity reigned throughout the country. Like the Whig party in England after the coalition, when they were called to face Pitt and his vast majorities, the thin ranks of the Federalists were still further weakened by the internal dissensions growing out of the sorry strifes of the Adams administration. These quarrels had been allayed by defeat; but they were only partially healed, and were soon to bear bitter fruit. Of all this Boston was of course the centre; and when the annexation of Louisiana roused the Federalists to desperation, it was in Boston that a meeting was to be held at which Hamilton should be present, and where the schemes of secession,

[1] [An engraving, after Stuart's portrait, will be found in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 290. — Ed.]

[2] [See Mr. H. A. Hill's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

which the New England leaders had been seriously discussing under their breath, should find expression and obtain a decision on their merits. The

HAMILTON.[1]

good sense of some of the leaders contributed with other causes to prevent the occurrence of this meeting; but had there been no other obstacle, the

[1] [This statue, cut in granite, designed by Rimmer, and given to the city in 1865 by Thomas Lee, stands in Commonwealth Avenue. It is inscribed, "Alexander Hamilton, born in the Island of Nevis, West Indies, 11 January, 1757; died in New York, 12 July, 1804." "Orator, writer, soldier, jurist, financier. Although his particular province was the treasury, his genius

death of Hamilton would have sufficed to cause postponement, if nothing else. The loss of that great man was peculiarly felt in Boston, where almost every man of note was one of his devoted followers, and where Federalism had struck its roots deeper and clung with a greater tenacity than anywhere else. In Boston Hamilton's death was deeply mourned. There the money — a large sum for those days — was raised to buy his lands and relieve the necessities of his family; and there the first statue of later times was raised to the great Secretary, commemorating alike his genius and the enduring and faithful Federalism of the old town in the years when the power of the Democracy seemed universal.

In this dark hour the Federalists were, indeed, nearly extinct, and when Massachusetts in 1804 gave her electoral vote to Jefferson it seemed as if the end could not be far distant. In fact the Federalist party would soon have perished utterly had it not been for the amazing blunders of Jefferson's second term, which gave the party a new lease of life and a vigorous and partially successful existence. This revival had not begun when an incident occurred, familiar to all who know the history of Boston, and which forcibly illustrates the violent party divisions of the town. This was the famous shooting of young Austin by Thomas Selfridge, — the former a Democrat, the latter a Federalist. The story of the death of Austin and the consequent trial of Selfridge are told in this History by another hand,[1] and do not need repetition here. The affair was made a party question; the newspapers were full of flings at Federalist murders and their impunity, and the talk, criticism, and invective connected with it give a vivid picture of the heated politics of Boston at that time. But the fervor of partisan feeling was soon to glow with a still fiercer heat, owing to the course of the world's history, in which the United States — the only neutral nation and still shackled by colonial feelings — was the foot-ball of the two great contending forces, Napoleon Bonaparte and the English Government. Into the stream of these mighty events, which are world-wide in their scope, the fortunes of Boston were strongly drawn. The renewal of hostilities by Napoleon had thrown the trade of all nations, and particularly that of England, the dominant power of the commercial world, into confusion. From this disorder the United States, as the only neutral with a strong merchant-marine, reaped a rich harvest, the fruits of which fell of course largely to New England, and therefore to Boston. It was the golden era of the American merchant-service, in which much of the best ability and the most daring enterprise were concentrated. Always alert and flushed with success, the New England sea-captains and merchants of Boston took quick advantage of the troubles of Europe to engross rapidly the carrying trade of the world,

pervaded the whole administration of Washington." The first marble statue ever erected in America is said to have been one of Hamilton, by Ball Hughes the Boston sculptor, which stood in the Merchants' Exchange in New York, and was destroyed in the fire of 1835. The original plaster model of it is now preserved in Albany. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1881, p. 466.

[1] [See the chapter in Vol. IV. on "The Bench and Bar," by Mr. John T. Morse, Jr. Dr. J. C. Warren was called to dress the wounds. See *Life of J. C. Warren*, i. 67. — ED.]

and to heap up handsome fortunes from its enormous profits. We may see all this energy, courage, and enterprise depicted in the now almost forgotten voyages of Cleaveland and Delano, and learn how strong and true the genius for the sea is in the New England race.[1] But we can also see there the dark side of the picture; not merely the normal dangers and hardships, but the insult and pillage inflicted by French and English, and the helpless, manly wrath and indignation of the American seamen. Our success and prosperity after the outbreak of war in Europe was in truth too obvious, and soon aroused the unsleeping jealousy of England. Seizures began to be made by British cruisers; then came unwarrantable condemnations in the British admiralty courts; and then oppressive Orders in Council. The first sensation was one of angry pride and keen disappointment at interference with our apparently boundless sources of profit. Sharp remonstrances and resolutions went out from Boston to spur the lagging Executive. The Federalist leaders, who regarded England as the bulwark of civilization against the all-destroying French Revolution personified in Napoleon, were overborne; and, while reprobating these violent measures in secret, seemed about to lose their last hold upon the people, and were forced to see their Governor, Caleb Strong, replaced by a leading Democrat, James Sullivan.[2] They were properly helpless before the righteous indignation which blazed up more fiercely than ever when the English, not content with despoiling our merchant-vessels, fired upon the national flag flying from a national ship.[3] If Mr. Jefferson had at that supreme moment declared war and appealed to the country, he would have had the cordial support of the mass of the people not only in New England but in Boston itself; but it was not to be. The President faltered as the Federalists rallied and renewed their attack, fell back on his preposterous theories of commercial warfare, well suited to his timidity and love of shuffling, and forced the celebrated embargo through both Houses of Congress. The support of New England in the trying times which were at hand was lost to the administration, and the political game in that important section of the country was once more in the hands of those Federalist chiefs whose headquarters were at Boston. The Federalism of Boston had in fact remained steady in every trial, although there was a moment when Jefferson might have sapped its strength. It had been heard in Washington for years through the eloquent lips of

1 [See Mr. H. A. Hill's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

2 [Engravings of Stuart's portrait of James Sullivan can be found in T. C. Amory's *Life of Governor Sullivan*, and in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. In 1834 it fell to the lot of William Sullivan, the son of Governor Sullivan, who had taken the opposite side in politics, to publish his *Public Men of the Revolution* and the period immediately following; and to make the motives and principles of the Federalists better known, he gave his book the greater latitude of familiar letters. In 1847 his son reissued it, much enlarged. William Sullivan was born in 1774. It was he who said: "Dignified civility, based upon self-respect, is a *gentleman's* weapon and defence." William Sullivan died in 1839. See Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 317. — Ed.]

3 [John Lowell in *Peace without Dishonor, War without Hope*, tried to allay the excitement. — Ed.]

Josiah Quincy,[1] whose voice now rose clearer and stronger than ever, trumpet-tongued against the embargo policy. The defection of John Quincy Adams on this same measure gave the town another strong and outspoken representative in the Senate in the person of James Lloyd, a leading merchant; and thus equipped in Washington, Boston faced the impending troubles.

So bitter was the feeling against England, so strong the sense of wounded national pride, that even the embargo was received in Boston at first with silent submission; but its operation told so severely upon both town and State that hostility to the administration rapidly deepened and strengthened. We can now hardly realize the effect of this measure upon Boston; but one fact lets in a flood of light. The tonnage of the United States in 1807 was, in round numbers, eight hundred and fifty thousand tons, and of this three hundred and ten thousand tons belonged to Massachusetts alone. The total cessation of commerce fell therefore upon Boston with blighting effect. Her merchant-ships rotted at the wharves, or were hauled up and dismantled. The busy ship-yards were still and silent, and all who gained their living by them were thrown out of work.[2] The fisheries were abandoned and agriculture was distressed. If in Philadelphia seamen marched in large bodies to the City Hall for relief, we can imagine what the condition of the seafaring population must have been in Boston. Ruin threatened the merchants, and poverty stared the laboring classes in the face. Gradually all this began to tell upon the temper of the people; riots and insurrections were feared by men of all parties; and the Federalists now found willing listeners when they pointed out to a people naturally brave and ready to fight, that the injuries inflicted by England were trifling in comparison with the total destruction of trade caused by their own Government; that the embargo had not as usual a limitation, but might become permanent; and that, however it might be disguised, the only nation really benefited by the embargo was the French. Slowly political power returned to the party constantly in opposition to Jefferson and all

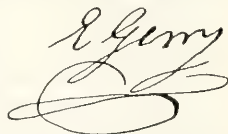
[1] [Of Mr. Quincy his daughter says: "The desertion of his friends and the violence of his opponents were great elements of his success. He was a Federalist from principle, but too independent to join in party measures. When in Congress, some of the leading Federalists did not support him as he could have wished. They would not believe that their representative in Washington could have clearer views of the policy of the administration than they had, sitting in their insurance offices in Boston. . . . But he remained true to the Federalists, and they rewarded him in 1820 by striking his name from their list of senators without giving him the least intimation that they intended doing so. He felt this deeply, but he went to the caucus and spoke in favor of the ticket from which his name had been struck. This made him generally popular, and by being put into the House of Representatives he was brought before the people, and made speaker; and in the convention held on the separation of Maine, he became justly appreciated, and would have been run for governor the next year had he not accepted the office of municipal judge." Mr. Quincy's political conduct can be traced only too scantily in Edmund Quincy's *Life* of his father. Something of his Congressional career, with a fac-simile of "Josiah the First," a monarchical squib of which his opponents thought him a fit subject, is given in Lossing's *Field-book of the War of* 1812. The Congressional documents which he gathered during his service at Washington are now in the Public Library, and serve in part to make the collection of United States documents in that library what is presumably the best in existence. — ED.]

[2] [See Mr. Hill's chapter in Vol. IV. — ED.]

his works. Resistance began to crop out on all sides. Pickering attacked Governor Sullivan in a violent pamphlet; Samuel Dexter argued in court against the constitutionality of the embargo, and juries refused to convict for infractions of the hated law. The Federalists carried the Legislature, and passed resolutions denouncing the embargo and questioning its constitutionality; while the town of Boston instructed its representatives, in town-meeting, to resist the embargo in terms which recalled the days of Sam Adams and the Port Bill, and which induced John Randolph to remind Jefferson of the fate of Lord North in a former difficulty with the Puritan town. Then it was that John Quincy Adams thought treason and secession were afoot in Boston, and warned the administration of its peril. He was mistaken as to the extent of the danger, for there was no treason, and nothing worse than ominous whisperings of secession. The ripeness of the times and of the public in Boston for desperate measures was sufficient to excite such suspicions; but the Federalists did not aim at violence. In the state of society then existing, in the opportunity offered, and in the condition of the times, it is a matter of wonder that passions were so controlled; for it is not easy to appreciate now the mental concentration in that day and generation. There was no art, no literature, no science; the only great branch of business was laid low by the embargo; there were none of the thousand and one interests which now divide and absorb our energy and activity. Absolutely the only source of intellectual excitement was politics; and to this were confined the mental forces of a small, vigorous, cultivated, and aristocratic society, which flung itself into politics with its whole heart and soul. They were a convivial race, these Federalist leaders in Boston, and were wont to dine together at three o'clock; and at five, when the ladies left the room, Madeira and politics flowed without stint until midnight and after. It is small wonder that their politics were heated, that ex-senators and governors bandied harsh words in the offices of State Street or demanded explanations in the newspapers, and that the traditional feuds and bitterness of 1808, although softened and apparently forgotten, have survived in Boston among those who inherit them even to the present day.

With matters in this state, the passage of the enforcing act aroused such anger, the attitude of New England became so menacing, that the Northern Democrats quailed; and led by such "pseudo Republicans" as Joseph Story, who were not ready to sacrifice their homes to Mr. Jefferson's theories, they repealed the embargo. There was a great sigh of relief; and when the Erskine arrangement was made, the sails of the merchant-ships again whitened the harbor of Boston. The more reasonable policy of Mr. Madison was only temporary, however, in its effects, and was soon replaced by vacillation and by labyrinthine complications, into which it is unnecessary to enter. The relaxation, however, sufficed to loosen the hold of the Federalists, and Governor Gore was replaced by Elbridge Gerry, whose administration was in itself enough to strengthen and give victory once

more to his opponents. He denounced in a message the publications of the Federal press, which were, indeed, vituperative and coarse to a high degree, especially in Boston; and he endeavored to bring in the power of the government to punish the aggressors. He also supported a plan of arranging election districts for partisan purposes, which was so bad, and at that time so unheard of, that it gave a new word to the language. All this enabled the Federalists to defeat him by a close vote, in which they were aided by the gathering clouds of conflict, which broke, June 18, 1812, in Mr. Madison's declaration of war against England.[1]



The preceding years of mercantile restrictions had not only hardened and embittered the Federalist leaders, but had estranged the affections and worn out the temper of the people of Boston and of New England, ready enough to have supported a manly war policy in 1807. Their trade had been crippled, and had crumbled away before restrictive measures; the navy, which they chiefly manned and in which they believed, had been neglected, and they were in no humor for a war which put the finishing stroke to their commercial prosperity and activity for the time being. They were perfectly ready to sympathize with the protest of the Federalist representatives against the war, which they accepted with sullen dislike. Some of the Federalist leaders, notably Samuel Dexter,[2] conceiving that party differences should be buried in the presence of the enemy, seceded; but the Federalist majorities only grew with each election, while the belief that the war was needless and unjust, and was part and parcel of a general policy designed to ruin New England, spread daily and gained favor, carrying with it resistance to the administration. Into the controversies thus engendered it is not fitting to enter here, although they involved the for tunes of the town, for they were wide and far reaching, and chiefly concerned the Nation and States. The general sentiment in Boston seems to have settled down into a determination to do nothing in active support of offensive war, but resolutely to defend themselves against any foreign aggression. This they were called upon to do before the war closed.[3]

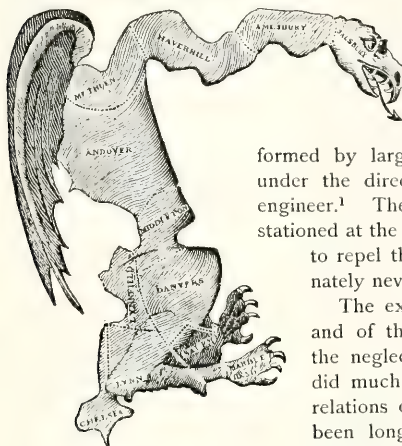
In 1814 the British policy of coast descents was extended to New England; scattered attacks were made, accompanied with burning and pillage, and the sails of English cruisers could daily be descried from Boston. The town was in a defenceless condition, the forts almost useless, and owing to the bitter quarrels with the administration no help had been given, or was

[1] [The news of this declaration reached Boston June 23, 1812, and the General Court, then in session, passed a vote, 406 to 240, disapproving of it. General Dearborn, as the United States officer commanding in Massachusetts, immediately made a requisition on Governor Strong for a body of the militia, eight companies of which were to be assigned to Boston; but the Governor refused to issue his proclamation for other ends than for the militia to be held in readiness for an emergency. — ED.]

[2] [See Sargent's *Reminiscences of Dexter*, p. 77. — ED.]

[3] [The events leading up to the war, and the part played in it by Boston, are detailed in General Palfrey's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

to be looked for, from the national government. The people of Boston and of Massachusetts had, however, no mind to endure the fate of Washington, and took prompt measures to protect themselves. The old forts were put in order, and a new one, Fort Strong, was thrown up on Noddle's Island, the work being rapidly performed by large bodies of ready volunteers under the direction of Loammi Baldwin, the engineer.[1] The militia were called out and stationed at the forts and at other points, ready to repel the expected attack, which fortunately never came.



THE GERRYMANDER.[2]

The exposed condition of the capital and of the other seaports however, and the neglect of the national government, did much to precipitate the crisis in the relations of State and Nation which had been long impending. In October the Legislature took steps toward concerted action among the New England States, with a view to defending themselves and forcing upon the administration the policy which they believed to be right. The result was the famous Hartford Convention, whose history belongs to the State and to New England, and not to Boston; although the feeling which led to that meeting

[1] [See Sumner's *East Boston*, p. 397. See also General Palfrey's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] [In 1812, while Gerry was governor, the Democratic Legislature, in order to secure an increased representation of their party in the State Senate, districted the State in such a way that the shapes of the towns, forming such a district in Essex, brought out a territory of singular outline. This was indicated on a map which Russell, the editor of the *Centinel*, hung in his office. Stuart, the painter, observing it, added a head, wings, and claws, and exclaimed, "That will do for a salamander!" "Gerrymander!" said Russell, and the word became a proverb. An engraving of the fabulous beast was circulated later through the State on a broadside; and from one of these, preserved by the late Isaac P. Davis, the above cut, reduced from the original, seven inches high, is copied. But the process had accomplished its purpose, for while the Federalist majority in the State was sixteen hundred and two, the senate stood twenty-nine Democratic to eleven Federalist members. The next year produced a change; the Legislature became Federalist, and the old districts were restored. In the *Boston Gazette* for April 15, 1813, there is an "obituary notice" of the monster, with a cut representing him bent up in his coffin, and a sketch of his grave-stone: "Hatched, Feb. 11, 1812; died, April 5, 1813." Such is the story told by Buckingham in his *Reminiscences*. But other claimants have been put forward. The place is said to have been Colonel Israel Thorndike's house in Summer Street; the artist, Tisdale; the sponsor, Alsop. See Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 321. The reader will observe that the back line of the body in the large cut forms a profile caricature of Gerry, with the nose at Middleton. — ED.]

found its fullest expression, perhaps, in the capital, where the newspapers, notably the *Daily Advertiser* then just started, urged strong measures and hinted at secession, and where the younger and more violent portion of the Federalist party was ripe for almost any step. The old and trusted leaders, however, threw themselves into the gap, determined to commit no overt act, but to check and control the movement at that time and leave the future to shape their subsequent course. Boston was represented at Hartford by George Cabot, who was chosen president of the convention, and by William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, and Timothy Bigelow. The result was as Mr. Quincy prophesied, — a "great pamphlet," and the committee sent to Washington reached there at the same time as the news of the Ghent treaty.

MASSACHUSETTS SIGNERS.[1]

Peace was received in Boston with ringing of bells and with every form of rejoicing, public and private;[2] and by none was it more welcomed than by the Federalists. The effect of the war on Boston was severe in the extreme. Not only

[1] [These are the signatures of the delegates from Massachusetts to the final report of the Hartford Convention. Of this number, Cabot was born in Salem, but latterly lived in Boston. Dane was a lawyer in Beverly; necessarily practising much in Boston, acquiring eminence; the founder of a law professorship at Cambridge, and the author of the ordinance of 1787. Otis was well known. Prescott was the father of the historian, and son of the Colonel Prescott of Bunker Hill fame. Bigelow had been a lawyer of Worcester County, speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and was the father-in-law of Abbott Lawrence. Thomas was a judge of probate in Plymouth County. Wilde, though born in Taunton, gained his early reputation as a lawyer in Maine, became a Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and removed to Boston in 1831. Lyman and Bliss were important men in the Connecticut Valley. Longfellow, of Portland, was the father of the poet. Waldo was of Worcester.

Theodore Dwight's *History of the Hartford Convention* is in vindication of it. — Ed.]

[2] [See Mr. Josiah P. Quincy's chapter on "Social Life in Boston," in Vol. IV., and Mr. Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 360. — Ed.]

was commerce, the great source of industry and wealth, wholly cut off, but the dependence upon England, now so difficult to realize, not only

GEORGE CABOT.[1]

for every manufactured article of luxury but for many of the necessities of life, had, by the cessation of intercourse, brought a sense of privation

[1] [No likeness of George Cabot of a maturer age exists, and the present cut follows a portrait owned by Colonel Henry Lee, kindly placed at my disposal, which represents him at sixteen. It is a pastel drawing. Mr. Lodge, the writer of this chapter, published in 1877 the *Life and Letters of George Cabot*, consisting chiefly of Letters, which had been preserved by Mr. Cabot's correspondents, with elucidatory introductions to the several chapters. Mr. Cabot had himself before his death destroyed almost all the papers remaining in his own hands. On the Hartford Convention, however, Mr. Lodge's excursus is prolonged and valuable; and in writing it he had the use of the Pickering manuscripts (over sixty volumes in all) in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and also the letters of Governor Strong. Mr. Lodge has also drawn somewhat from *Hamilton's Works*, and from Gibbs's *Administration of Washington and Adams*, and in a smaller degree from the *Life of Timothy Pickering* as continued by Mr. Upham. In turn Mr. Lodge's work has been drawn upon in part by Mr. Henry Adams in his *Documents relating to New England Federalism*, 1800–1815, which was published in 1877; nor should there be forgotten the *Memoir of John Quincy Adams*, published in 1858 by President Quincy, and the voluminous *Memoirs*, based largely upon Adams's Diary, which have been issued in twelve volumes by his

and loss into every household. But the war, and the policy of commercial restriction preceding it, had upon Boston a deep and lasting effect, which was hardly perceived at the moment, but which changed her business character, and has powerfully influenced her politics from that day to this. In the first years of the nineteenth century Boston was a great commercial centre and nothing else. Mr. Jefferson with his embargo and its kindred measures, and the War of 1812, shook the whole financial and economical system of the town. Commerce was crippled, at times almost extinguished, and comparatively large masses of capital were set loose and left idle, while at the same time an immense fund of enterprise and activity was unemployed. The result was to force all this capital and enterprise into other channels, where they had begun to flow very slowly. Manufactures received a great impetus; and the capital, which had been turned aside by the policy of the administration, did not, when peace came, revert to its old pursuits. From being a strong free-trade town, Boston became as vigorously protectionist before the first quarter of a century closed. Mr. Jefferson seems to have designed to reduce the commercial interest and weaken New England by his policy; he certainly regarded with complacency the fact that it would have that tendency. The result was that manufactures were stimulated; the progress of Boston was changed, not arrested; and New England industries were for years protected at the expense of his beloved South.

The conclusion of the war, and the revival of business in all directions closed the differences which had divided the country since the foundation of the government, and turned men's minds from the political issues of the past. It was the dawn of the so-called era of good feeling, the transition period in which old parties disappeared and new ones were developed. The Federalists of Massachusetts retained their power for many years, dexterously avoiding the rocks of religious controversy on which their party brethren of Connecticut were wrecked. They held the government by reason of past services solely, for the great political questions which had brought them forth and given them strength no longer existed. Gradually, however, they faded away; the old leaders in Boston and elsewhere retired from public life or were removed by death; and the century had hardly completed its second decade when the great party of Washington, really extinct for some years, vanished even in name from our history finally and irrevocably.

Almost coincident with the disappearance of the Federalist party was the change of municipal government in Boston from the town form to that of a city. The change had been agitated at various times from a very early period down to 1821, and in the next year the old town government came

son, Charles Francis Adams, between 1874 and 1877. The Life of Hamilton so far as it reacted upon the Federalism of Boston is not without importance; and the reader who has not the courage to compass the somewhat assuming and voluminous *Life* by John C. Hamilton may find progress easier in the *Life of Hamilton* as written by John T. Morse, Jr. in 1876. Of the part played by the press in the political movements in this period, see D. A. Goddard's *Newspapers and Newspaper Writers in New England*, 1787–1815, a pamphlet published in 1880. — ED.]

to an end. It had been the government of Winthrop and Cotton, of Adams and Franklin. It had defied George III. and Lord North, and its name had rung through two continents in the days when it faced the English Parliament alone and unterrified. It was the most famous municipal organization in America, and it passed away into history honored and regretted. The next chapter traces in detail the transformation which followed.

Henry Cabot Lodge

CHAPTER II.

BOSTON UNDER THE MAYORS, 1822–1880.

BY JAMES M. BUGBEE.

THE purpose of this chapter is to give some account of the local government of Boston since its organization under a city charter in the year 1822. The extent of the change in the administration of local affairs involved in the establishment of a municipal council in place of the town-meeting can hardly be appreciated without going back for a moment to consider the origin and development of what is known as the New England town-system. Most New Englanders cling to the belief that the system of local self-government which their Pilgrim and Puritan ancestors set up here was wholly original; that a new principle of government was introduced which had its natural culmination in the Declaration of Independence and the formation of the Federal Union: but the investigations of modern historians have made it clear that the early settlers of this country were governed largely by the traditions which had come down to them from their Teutonic ancestors. The form of government which they established had not its exact counterpart among any other people, but it was based on the ancient Anglo-Saxon township; and the new features which were introduced were only such as were necessitated or suggested by the peculiar circumstances in which the colonists were placed. They were wiser than many of their eulogists would make them. Had they struck out for themselves in an entirely new path, their subsequent development would have been wanting in those elements of conservatism and steadiness which have shown New England to be the lineal descendant of Old England.[1]

The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company contained no express authority for the erection of town governments or the establishment of minor political divisions; and Sir Edmund Andros could say with truth, that in a legal point of view there was no such thing as a town in all New Eng-

[1] [See Vol. I. pp. 217, 427, 445, 454. This interesting subject of the origin of our town system, upon which so much new light has been thrown since the publication of Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*, is now undergoing more exact study at the hands of Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University. See H. C. Lodge's *English Colonies in America*, p. 414, and *Harvard University Bulletin*, June 1, 1881, or vol. ii. 214. — ED.]

land. Boston was never formally incorporated as a town. The order of the Court of Assistants (Sept. 7, O. S. 1630), changing the name from Tri-mountain to Boston,[1] has been construed by the courts to be sufficient to entitle it from that time forward to all the privileges of a town; but no corporation was specifically established until 1822. Springing up in this way, outside of the formal scheme of government devised by the king, the line between the town governments and the colonial government could never be very clearly defined; and it may well be imagined that the former were continually encroaching upon the just and necessary powers of the latter.[2] Fortunately for the maintenance of local government, the colonial authority as represented by the General Court was composed of delegates from the towns; and therefore almost any exercise of authority on the part of the towns, which did not interfere directly with the operations of the general government, was permitted and indeed encouraged. The extent and variety of the powers exercised by the town of Boston in its early days go far beyond those exercised by the city of to-day. The conditions upon which strangers should be allowed to reside in the town,[3] the admission of new comers to the rights of citizenship,[4] the conditions upon which allotments of land should be made,[5] the prices of commodities, the rates of wages for labor, the conditions upon which suits at law should be prosecuted,[6] and even great questions of peace or war, were discussed in meetings of all the freemen;[7] and the action of the town was determined by the number of voices that shouted for the affirmative or the negative.

In the beginning all public affairs were passed upon by the whole body of freemen; but as the population increased, the frequent attendance upon town-meetings was found to be burdensome. Then certain persons were chosen to act for a limited time, — at first for six months, and afterward for a year, — to "order the affairs of the town." That was the origin of the Board of Selectmen, the name by which the chief executive body in town government is now widely known.[8] Subsequently other town officers were elected to look after special departments of the public service, — constables, surveyors of highways, clerks of the market, sealers of leather, packers of fish and meat, and hog-reeves.[9] A commissioner was also chosen at the

[1] Vol. I. p. 116.

[2] [See Mr. C. C. Smith's chapter, "Boston and the Colony," in Vol. I. p. 217, of this History. — ED.]

[3] Boston Town Records as printed in *Second Report of Record Commissioners*, 1877, pp. 10, 90, 109, 152.

[4] Ibid. p. 46.

[5] Ibid. p. 6, *et seq.*

[6] Ibid. p. 5.

[7] See Richard Frothingham's Oration, July 4, 1874; *City Documents*, 68, 1874.

[8] They are referred to in the first volume of Boston records as "the ten men," "the nine men," and "the town's men," until 1647, when they are called "the selectmen." See Vol. I. pp. 388, 505 of this History.

[9] *Reeve* is from the Anglo-Saxon *Gerefa*, concerning the etymological connection of which with the German *Graf* there has been a good deal of controversy. It is curious to see how a once honored title has become degraded. The first civic temporal magistrates in England were the *Reves*. William the Conqueror, in the first charter granted to London, "greets William the Bishop, and Godfrey the *Portreve*." Later the Anglo-Saxon *Portreve* was superseded by the French *Mayor*. *Shire-reve* has been contracted to Sheriff; and the *Reve* survives only as the keeper of hogs.

annual meeting to receive the proxies for magistrates and county treasurer and carry them to the shire-meeting.

The system of government which grew up in this irregular way was full of make-shifts, — it would have vexed the soul of the political doctrinaire; but it was admirably adapted to the wants of a small, homogeneous community. It was covered with patches, but the patches protected just the places which hard wear threatened to expose. That it performed its functions to the general satisfaction of the people for a period of nearly two hundred years is shown by the fact that during that time they steadily resisted all attempts to change its original form. There were not wanting individuals who favored a change, and who had their patent devices for making the government better than the people; but so well satisfied were the majority of the voters with what they had, that they clung to the old system long after the growth of the town appeared to make a change necessary for the maintenance of good government.[1] Upon the suggestion of the selectmen a committee was appointed in 1708 to "draft a charter of incorporation" for "the better government of the town;" but at the annual March meeting in the following year the "town's men" refused to accept the draft which was submitted to them, and refused to refer the subject to any future meeting. The next attempt to make a radical change in the constitution of the government was in 1784, when, on the petition of a number of influential citizens, a committee of thirteen was appointed "to consider the expediency of applying to the General Court for an act to form the town of Boston into an incorporated city, and report a plan of alterations in the present government of the police, if such be deemed eligible." The committee reported two plans, — one making the town a body politic, by the name of "the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Boston;" the other making it a body politic by the name of "the President and Selectmen of the City of Boston." At a meeting of the inhabitants it was voted, "by a great majority," "inexpedient to make any alterations in the present form of town government."[2]

In 1791 "the want of an efficient police" led to another petition for a change; and a plan was reported which provided for a division of the town into nine wards, and the election in each ward of two men who, with the selectmen, were to constitute the Town Council, with power to make by-laws and to appoint all executive officers except selectmen, town clerk, overseers of the poor, assessors, town treasurer, school-committee men, auditors of accounts, firewards, collectors of taxes, and constables, who were to continue to be elected by the legal voters. A good deal of time was given to the discussion of this scheme, and it was printed and distributed in hand-bills to all the inhabitants; but when the vote came to be taken upon its adoption, it met the fate of former schemes. Another report in favor of changing the

[1] [See Vol. I. p. 219; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* July, 1857; Quincy's *Municipal History of Boston*, ch. i. — Ed.]

[2] [There is in Harvard College Library a little tract of eight pages called *Two Plans for Forming the Town of Boston into an Incorporated City, Published by Order of the Town for the Perusal and Consideration of the Inhabitants.* The day named for the further consideration of them is June 17. — Ed.]

town government was negatived by a decisive vote in 1804. The next movement for a change was not made until 1815, when a committee submitted the draft of a bill which provided for the incorporation of the town under the name of "the Intendant and Municipality of the Town and City of Boston." The municipal council was to consist of the selectmen, chosen by the citizens in town-meeting, and two delegates from each ward chosen by the inhabitants of the ward. The Intendant was to be chosen annually by the selectmen and delegates; and was given powers which made him rather a mild chief executive. The title appears to have been imported either directly from France or from the Gallicized municipalities in the Canadas. This scheme came pretty near adoption, — nine hundred and twenty votes being in the affirmative and nine hundred and fifty-one in the negative.

What turned the scale against it, perhaps, and what would have been urged equally against any scheme by which the town government was to be changed to a city government, was the fact that there was no provision in the State Constitution which appeared to authorize the erection by the General Court of city governments. The subject was brought before the Constitutional Convention of 1820, by one of the Boston delegates, Mr. Lynde Walter, who procured the passage of a resolution instructing a committee to inquire into the expediency of so altering the Constitution, that the Legislature should have power to grant to towns charters of incorporation with the usual forms of city government. Daniel Webster, chairman of the committee to which the matter was referred, reported that it was expedient so to amend the Constitution as to provide that the General Court should have full power and authority to erect and constitute municipal or city governments in any corporate towns in the Commonwealth, provided such towns contained not less than a certain number of inhabitants. The proposed amendment was strongly opposed by some of the country members, who feared that the city governments would make laws by which "the inhabitants of the towns, going into the cities, would be liable to be ensnared and entrapped." The reasons for the proposed change were set forth very clearly by Lemuel Shaw, afterward the Chief-Justice of the Commonwealth. He said that it was not the intention to grant any special powers or privileges to the citizens of Boston, but simply to give them an organization adapted to the condition of a numerous people. All the towns in the Commonwealth possessed the powers and privileges of municipal corporations in England. They had power to choose their own officers, to send members to the General Court, to make by-laws, to assess and collect taxes, to maintain schools and highways, relieve the poor, and to superintend licensed houses and other matters of local police. The Constitution as it stood required all the inhabitants of a town to assemble in one body, be they few or many. The sole purpose of the proposed change was to provide an organization by which the voters in municipalities containing a large number of inhabitants would be enabled to meet in sections for the purposes of election, and to choose representatives who should be empowered to make the by-laws and

vote the supplies instead of the whole body. The amendment was adopted by the Convention and subsequently (April 29, 1821) ratified by the people of the State.

It would naturally be supposed that after this there would be no serious opposition to the proposed organization of a city government in Boston; but there was a conservative element in the old town which could not be convinced that any change was either necessary or desirable, even though the venerable John Adams supported the amendment in the Convention. The national census of 1820 gave the town a population of forty-three thousand two hundred and ninety-eight. The number of qualified voters exceeded seven thousand.

"When a town-meeting was held on any exciting subject in Faneuil Hall, those only who obtained places near the moderator could even hear the discussion. A few busy or interested individuals easily obtained the management of the most important affairs in an assembly in which the greater number could have neither voice nor hearing. When the subject was not generally exciting, town-meetings were usually composed of the selectmen, the town officers, and thirty or forty inhabitants. Those who thus came were for the most part drawn to it from some official duty or private interest, which, when performed or attained, they generally troubled themselves but little, or not at all, about the other business of the meeting. In assemblies thus composed, by-laws were passed, taxes to the amount of one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand dollars voted on statements often general in their nature, and on reports, as it respects the majority of voters present, taken upon trust, and which no one had carefully considered except perhaps the chairman."

Among the number who resisted the proposed change, "by speech and pen, as long as there was any chance of defeating it," was Mr. Josiah Quincy, who afterward, in his *Municipal History of Boston*, made the statement above quoted. "He believed," says his son, "the pure democracy of a town-meeting more suited to the character of the people of New England, and less liable to abuse and corruption, than a more compact government."

In January, 1822, the subject was brought before a special meeting of the inhabitants in Faneuil Hall, on the report of a committee recommending that there should be a chief executive, called the "Intendant," elected by the selectmen; that there should be an executive board of seven persons called the "Selectmen," elected by the inhabitants on a general ticket; and that there should be a body with mixed legislative and executive powers called a "Board of Assistants," consisting of four persons chosen from each of the twelve wards. For three days the subject was debated with much earnestness and some heat. The report was amended by giving to the chief executive the title of "Mayor;" by putting "Aldermen" in place of the Selectmen; and by changing the name of the Board of Assistants to "the Common Council." The amended report was then put into the form of five propositions and submitted to the inhabitants to be voted upon by ballot, yea or nay. The vote on what may be considered the test proposition, —

namely, "that the name of 'Town of Boston' should be changed to 'City of Boston,'" — was two thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven in the affirmative, and two thousand and eighty-seven in the negative. The other propositions were all adopted by a greater or less majority.

Application[1] was immediately made to the Legislature for an act of incorporation; and on Feb. 23, 1822, the Governor approved "an act establishing the city of Boston," which is known as the first city charter. As the earliest departure, under Massachusetts laws, from the ancient system of town government, the act was regarded as one of grave importance. The city form of organization, copied in most cases from the form which had been established in London as early as the thirteenth century, had long been in use in other parts of the country. New York received a city charter in the English form in 1665, and several charters were granted in the name of the king to large towns outside the New England colonies, previous to the Declaration of Independence. The lord proprietor of Maine had exercised the right given him by his patent to make the little town of Agamenticus (now York), with two hundred and fifty inhabitants, a city under the name of Gorgeana, with a mayor, aldermen, common council and recorder; but when the province came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, the town system was substituted. In Connecticut, city charters were granted immediately after the Revolution; and so freely were they granted, that at last "a little clump of Indians took it into their heads to apply for city powers and privileges," which "convinced the Legislature of the impolicy of granting charters with so much liberality."[2]

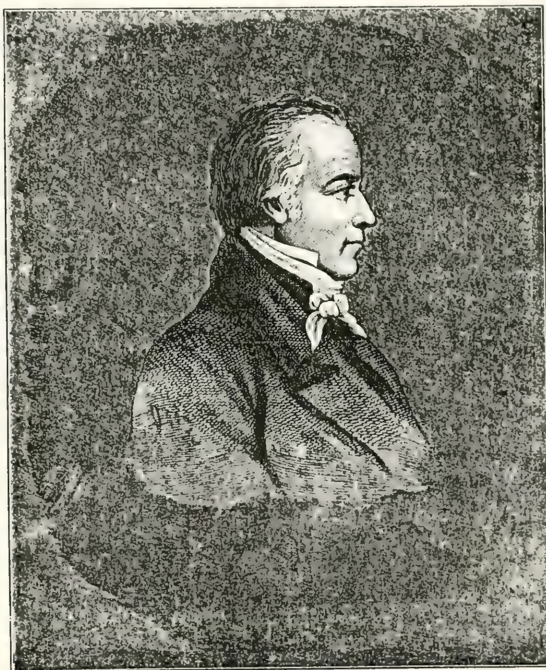
The new charter of Boston, drafted by Mr. Lemuel Shaw, provided that the title of the corporation should be "the City of Boston;" that the administration of all the fiscal, prudential, and municipal concerns of the city, with the conduct and government thereof, should be vested in one principal officer, to be styled "the Mayor;" one select council of eight persons, to be denominated "the Board of Aldermen," and one more numerous council of forty-eight persons, to be denominated "the Common Council;" that the city should be divided into twelve wards; that the mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen should be elected on the second Monday of April annually, and enter upon their duties on the first day of May;[3] that the mayor and aldermen should compose one board, the mayor presiding and having a right to vote on all questions, but not the veto power; that the administration of police, together with the general executive powers of the corporation, and the powers formerly vested by law or usage in the selectmen of the town, should be vested in the mayor and aldermen; that all the other powers then vested in the town or in the inhabitants thereof as a municipal cor-

[1] [See the paper in chapter iii. of this section. — ED.]

[2] From Remarks of John Adams, in the Constitutional Convention of 1820. *Debates, Massachusetts Convention*, p. 195.

[3] By an act of the Legislature passed in 1825, the annual election was changed to the second Monday in December; and the officers then chosen entered upon their duties on the first Monday in January following. In 1872 the election-day was changed to the Tuesday after the second Monday in December.

poration should be vested in the mayor, aldermen, and common council, to be exercised by concurrent vote, each board having a negative upon the other; that the citizens in the several wards should choose, at the annual meeting in April, a number of persons to be firewards; and also one person in each ward to be overseer of the poor, and one person to be a member of the school committee.



JOHN PHILLIPS.[1]

At "a legal meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston," held in Faneuil Hall on March 4, 1822, the question, "Will you accept the charter granted by the Legislature?" was decided in the affirmative, by a vote of 2,797 to 1,881. Among the large number who voted in the negative there were many who opposed any radical change of the

[1] [This cut follows an engraving of a portrait owned by Mr. Wendell Phillips, kindly furnished by him. Mr. John Phillips died May 29, 1823. A memoir of Phillips, with an engraved portrait, appeared in the *Boston Monthly Magazine*, November, 1825; and a brief sketch, with a portrait, is also given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1866; and an account of his family in Bond's *Watertown*, p. 885. There is also a sketch in Loring's *Orators*, p. 249. — ED.]

old system, and others who were dissatisfied with the form of organization provided by the new charter.

Mr. Josiah Quincy, who had always taken an interest in town affairs, and who presided at the last town-meeting held in Faneuil Hall, was invited by many substantial citizens to be a candidate for the office of mayor. He accepted the invitation, without knowing, it is said, that the Federal leaders proposed to make Mr. Harrison Gray Otis the first mayor, preparatory to his elevation to the governorship of the State. That any respectable Federalist should be presumptuous enough to stand for any office which Mr. Otis was willing at that time to take, was sufficient to stir up a great deal of feeling among the party managers: it was much the same as if, twenty years later, Mr. Choate had allowed his name to be used for an office which Mr. Webster wanted. Mr. Quincy's supporters were not willing to release him from his engagement, however, and it does not appear that he was at all anxious to be relieved. It was not in his nature to be influenced, by weight or numbers, to withdraw from a position which he had once deliberately accepted. The night before the election the Democrats nominated Mr. Thomas L. Winthrop for their candidate, and threw enough votes for him to prevent an election, — a majority of all the votes being necessary for a choice. Mr. Quincy would undoubtedly have been elected had not the Democrats resorted to the trick of using Mr. Winthrop's name without his authority, and greatly to his displeasure.

Both Mr. Otis and Mr. Quincy then withdrew their names, and John Phillips[1] was elected without serious opposition. He was in many respects well qualified for the position; a man of rather pliable disposition, but of strict integrity and general good judgment, — a character well fitted for the somewhat delicate task of commending the new order of things to those who had been adverse to a change. One who knew him well, and knew the difficulties by which he was surrounded, has said: —

"Selected for the critical task of making the first experiment with a system new to the acquaintance, and, as far as then appeared, uncongenial in some degree with the habits, of his constituents, to the operation of which indefinite expectations were attached and a jealous observation directed, the Mayor exhibited that discretion and sound judgment which so eminently characterized him."

The new city government was organized in Faneuil Hall on May 1, 1822. The chairman of the board of selectmen delivered into the charge of the new authorities the town records and title deeds, and the city charter inclosed in a silver case. The Mayor, after paying "a just tribute to the wisdom of

[1] A descendant in the fifth generation from the Rev. George Phillips, the first minister of Watertown. He was born in Boston, Nov. 26, 1770; received his early education at the academy in Andover which bears his family name, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1788. He delivered the Fourth of July oration before the town authorities in 1794; and for many years acted as Town Advocate and Public Prosecutor. He served for twenty years as a member of the State Senate, and for ten years was President of that body.

our ancestors as displayed in the institutions for the government of the town, under which for nearly two centuries so great a degree of prosperity had been attained, and during which the great increase of the population of the place had alone made this change in the administration of its affairs essential," proceeded to remark, in respect of those "who encouraged hopes which could never be realized, and of those who indulged unreasonable apprehensions in regard to the city charter, that they would derive benefit from reflecting how much social happiness depended on other causes than the provisions of a charter." The policy of the new administration, to keep things substantially as they were, was thus foreshadowed; and it may be said that that policy was adhered to during the year, but little of importance being done beyond the organization of the several departments of the city government.[1]

The debt transferred from the town to the city amounted to about $100,000, and was incurred on account of two prisons, then in course of erection, and a new court house. The current expenses for the year 1822 amounted to about $249,000, and the tax levy for that year was $140,000. It was a day of small things as compared with the present time.[2] The appropriations to meet the current expenses for the financial year beginning May 1, 1880, amounted to $10,190,387; and the tax levy was $9,466,896.

The result of the first year's administration under the new charter did not meet the expectations of those who had been instrumental in procuring it. They were eager for a more energetic system, and they charged Mr. Phillips with pursuing a timid and hesitating course for fear of losing his popularity; but when he demitted office Mr. Quincy could say of him:—

"After examining and considering the records and proceedings of the city authorities for the past year, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing the sense I entertain of the services of that high and honorable individual who filled the chair of this city, as well as of the wise, prudent, and faithful citizens who composed during

[1] The city clerk elected at this time — Samuel F. McCleary — continued to hold the office by successive annual elections until his resignation in 1852, when he was succeeded by his son, bearing the same name, who holds the office to-day; so that the city records from the beginning bear the attestation of a single name. A city seal was adopted, the motto for which was suggested by Judge Davis. It was taken from the following verse of the Scriptures: "Sit Deus nobiscum, sicut fuit cum patribus nostris." — III. Regum, viii. 57. As adopted for the seal it stands: "Sicut patribus, sit Deus nobis." The impression within the motto contains a view of the city from South Boston Point.

[2] To show what a small part of the peninsula of Boston was occupied at the beginning of the present century, I venture to print the following, from Wendell Phillips, Esq: —

"Every incident that contributes to the life of the picture is valuable, though it may seem trivial, so I add this as illustrating how small Boston limits were eighty years ago.

"My father, the first mayor, built in 1804–5 the first *brick* house that was built on Beacon Street. It still stands on the western corner of Walnut and Beacon streets. Above and below there were a few wooden houses, and next the State House stood Hancock's *stone* house. This street (Beacon) was then considered *out of town*.

"When Dr. Joy was advised to take his invalid wife out of town for the benefit of country air, he built her, eighty years ago, a wooden house, which stood where Mrs. Tudor's house now does, — on the western corner of Joy and Beacon streets: the lot went back to Mt. Vernon Street, or near it. I have often seen loads of hay, cut on the square between Joy, Walnut, Mt. Vernon, and Beacon streets, carried in to Dr. Joy's front gate, where Mrs. Armstrong's front door stands now. When my father moved into his Beacon-Street house, his uncle, Judge O. Wendell, was asked, in State Street, 'what had induced his nephew to move *out of town*.'"

[See the view of Beacon Street about this time, given in Mr. Stanwood's chapter. — Ed.]

that period the city council. . . . Whatever success may attend those who come after them, they will be largely indebted for it to the wisdom and fidelity of their predecessors."

And Mr. Otis, in his inaugural address in 1829, said: —

"The novel experiment of city government was commenced by your first lamented mayor, with the circumspection and delicacy which belonged to his character, and which were entirely judicious and opportune. He felt and respected the force of ancient and honest prejudices. His aim was to allure and not to repel; to reconcile by gentle reform, not to revolt by startling innovation."

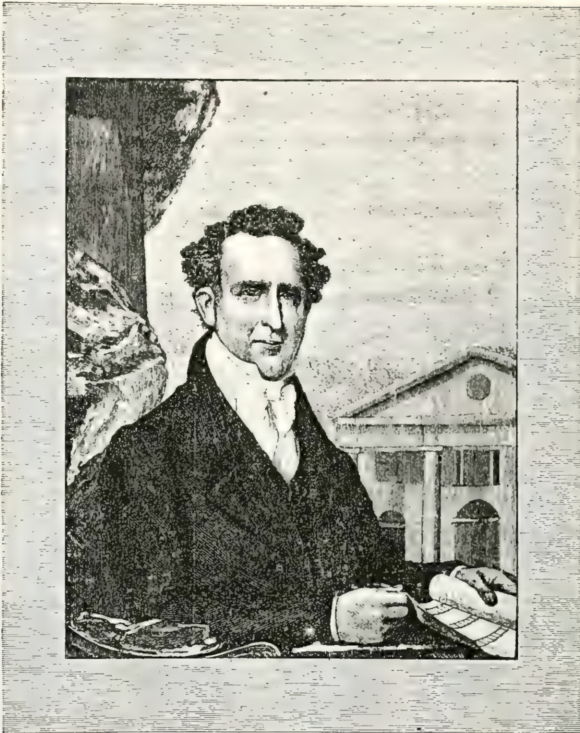
Mr. Phillips had no desire for a second term, his health having begun to give way. Josiah Quincy[1] was therefore sought as a candidate by the progressive element in the community. He accepted the position, and was elected, receiving 2,505 votes out of 4,766, — the whole number cast.

Mr. Quincy was at this time fifty-one years of age, — to him the prime of life; a man of large experience, of kindly disposition, but of most decided will. He left his impress on the government of the city as no other man has done. His administration, covering a period of six years, has formed a standard to which the efforts of his successors are continually referred. It was not a great office to be a mayor with limited power over a city of only forty-five thousand inhabitants; but he performed the duties in such a way as to give it more than a local importance, and to produce results of a lasting character. He was like an accomplished actor who takes a small part and makes of it a great one.

In his inaugural address, the Mayor gave prominence to the defects of the ancient town organization, and the remedy provided for them in the powers of the mayor. His object was to bring the responsibility of the chief executive into distinct relief before the citizens, and thereby prepare their minds for the prominent part which he intended to play. In order to put himself in a position to exercise to the full the powers conferred upon him as mayor and as a member of the board of mayor and aldermen, he did not hesitate to make himself chairman of all committees of the board. But such was his tact and his capacity for work, that this extraordinary proceeding does not seem to have excited any ill-feeling among his associates in the city council.

He first gave his attention to improving the sanitary condition of the city, and established the system of cleaning the streets and collecting house-offal, which has been followed to the present day, and which has proved a model of economy and efficiency. Under the town government the powers relative to the preservation of the public health had been vested in a board elected by the inhabitants; but the city charter transferred those powers to the city council, "to be carried into execution by the appointment of health

[1] Of Mr. Quincy's previous career in public life some account will be found in another part of this work.

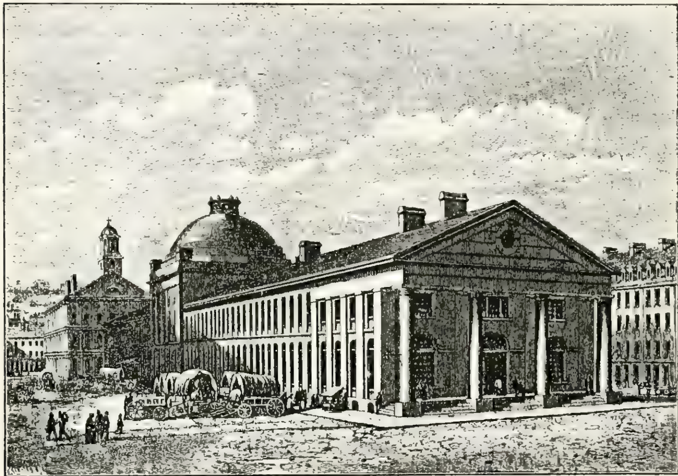


JOSIAH QUINCY.[1]

commissioners, or in such other manner as the health, cleanliness, comfort, and order of the city might in their judgment require." When the new government was organized, three health commissioners were appointed with

[1] [Stuart painted Mr. Quincy twice, — the first time in 1806, a half-length, now belonging to the heirs of Edmund Quincy, of Dedham. In November, 1824, he painted him again, and this picture Miss E. S. Quincy gave to the Museum of Fine Arts in 1876 It is engraved on steel in Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, and is followed directly from the canvas in the above cut. (Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, p. 243.) There was a third portrait, by Page, in 1842, in his robes as President of Harvard University; and a fourth, by Wight, about 1852, now in the Historical Society's gallery. A statue of Mr. Quincy, by W. W. Story, which likewise represents him in an academic gown, stands in Memorial Hall at Cambridge. Another statue, showing him in plain dress, executed by Thomas Ball, stands in front of City Hall, and a photograph of it is given in City Document, No. 115, for 1879. The document contains a description of the ceremonies of dedication, including a commemorative oration by his Honor F. O. Prince, then mayor of the city. There is a bust of Quincy by Horatio Greenough, and another by Crawford, in Memorial Hall at Cambridge. See E. Quincy's *Life of J. Quincy*, p. 550; where is also an engraving from a photograph from life, taken in his eighty-ninth year. — ED.]

the general powers of the town board of health. They were unwise enough to stand in the way of certain reforms proposed by the Mayor, and they were speedily swept out of existence. The internal police of the city was placed under the superintendence of the city marshal; and the external police, covering the enforcement of the quarantine regulations, was placed under a single commissioner. The board of surveyors of highways was also abolished, and by legislative enactment the powers were conferred upon the mayor and aldermen, who have continued to exercise them up to the present day.



QUINCY MARKET AND FANEUIL HALL.[1]

The next important measure which Mayor Quincy initiated and carried out, and the one by which he is most generally known, was the establishment of a new market-house. The Faneuil Hall market-house was first opened in 1742; and at the time of which we are writing the whole space, occupied by stalls in and around the building, did not exceed fourteen hundred feet. The accommodations were not only insufficient for the wants of the inhabitants, but they were notoriously unhealthy and extremely inconvenient of access. The scheme proposed by the Mayor for enlarging the

[1] [This view follows the engraving in Quincy's *Municipal History of Boston*, taken by Hammatt Billings (1826), not long after the erection of the market-house. Pemberton Hill is seen in the distance. It was then sixty or more feet higher than now, and on its slope was a tower, built by Lieut.-Governor Phillips, in the garden of the old Faneuil house. The large trees were on the rear part of the Vassall estate, then occupied by Gardiner Greene; and they were a prominent land-mark for ships entering the harbor. A similar view is given in Snow's *Boston*, p. 378. See also Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, p. 115. — ED.]

market was of such magnitude as to invite serious opposition, even from many of the most prominent citizens; and he had not only to win over to his views the members of the city council, but he had to procure the endorsement of his scheme by the inhabitants of the city and the Legislature of the Commonwealth. The opposition was bitter and determined, but the Mayor triumphed over every obstacle. What was accomplished can best be stated in his own words: —

"A granite market-house, two stories high, five hundred and thirty-five feet long, fifty feet wide, covering twenty-seven thousand feet of land, including every essential accommodation, was erected at a cost of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Six new streets were opened, and a seventh greatly enlarged, including one hundred and sixty-seven thousand square feet of land; and flats, docks, and wharf-rights obtained of the extent of one hundred and forty-two thousand square feet. All this was accomplished in the centre of a populous city, not only without any tax, debt, or burden upon its pecuniary resources, — notwithstanding, in the course of the operations funds to the amount of upwards of eleven hundred thousand dollars had been employed, — but with large permanent additions to its real and productive property." [1]

The corner-stone of the new market-house was laid on April 22, 1825, and the stalls were opened in 1827.[2]

Among other reforms instituted by Mr. Quincy soon after he came into office was the reorganization of the fire department. Its efficiency at that time depended largely upon the aid of the inhabitants, applied under the authority of the firewards who were elected annually by the citizens in each ward. "They formed lanes of by-standers, who, by their direction, passed

[1] Quincy's *Municipal History of Boston*, p. 74. [This history is reviewed by Francis Bowen in the *North American Review*, vol. lxxiv. An account of the semi-centennial celebration, Aug. 26, 1876, of the opening of the market, was published in 1877, by William W. Wheildon. — ED.]

[2] It was due to the originator of the enterprise that his name should have been given officially to the new market; but the plausible statement that it was merely an enlargement of the old Faneuil Hall Market was sufficient, with the personal feeling against Mr. Quincy engendered by his persistence in carrying out his plans, to induce the city council to extend the name of the old market to the new. But the people have taken the matter into their own hands, and the new house will always be popularly known as "Quincy Market."

Since its establishment the character of the business transacted in it has almost wholly changed. It has ceased to be the place to which the householders of Boston generally resort for their supplies of provisions. It has come to be the great provision exchange for New England. It draws to its stalls food-products of the best from all parts of the world, and it distributes them all over the country; although its principal business consists in supplying the hotels and retail dealers in and around Boston, and the great summer resorts on the sea-shore and among the mountains of New England. The market owes much of its success and its popularity to the high character of the men who occupy it. Instead of disposing of the stalls annually by auction, as is customary in many other cities, it has always been the policy in this market to fix a reasonable rent for the use of the stalls, and renew leases to good tenants. This policy has not been without its results in maintaining a high standard in the quality of the articles offered for sale. Charges of "forestalling" and "monopolizing" have been often raised by a few discontented persons; but repeated investigations by committees of the council have failed to show that the influence of the market has been used to maintain high prices. The statute provision allowing sales from market-wagons on the streets around the market-houses, introduces an element of competition which effectually prevents any monopoly prejudicial to the public interests. The sales from these free street-stands may be said to regulate the prices of provisions in Boston. See *City Document* 100 of 1865, and *City Document* 91 of 1870.

buckets of water from pumps or wells in the vicinity to the engines playing on the fire, and returned them for further supply." The men who worked the engines were formed into companies, and received a small compensation for their services, besides being exempt from militia duty. "To be first, nearest, and most conspicuous at fires was the ambition of the enginemen; and the use of hose, as it had a tendency to deprive them of this gratification, was opposed." In 1823 several companies petitioned for additional compensation. It was refused; and in one day all the engines in the city were surrendered by their respective companies; and on the same day every engine was supplied with a new company by the voluntary association of public-spirited individuals. Application was then made to the Legislature for authority to reorganize the department; and in 1825 an act was passed giving the mayor and aldermen power to appoint all the engineers, fire-wardens, and firemen. The sense of security which the new organization gave is shown by the fact that the rates of insurance against fire on the real property within the city were reduced twenty per cent.

In the year 1821, just previous to the change in the municipal organization, Mr. Quincy, having given considerable attention to the subject of pauperism, was appointed chairman of a town committee on the subject of the relief and disposition of the poor of Boston. On his recommendation, and under his supervision, a tract of land was purchased on the northerly shore of South Boston, and a House of Industry was erected. The overseers of the poor — a body then elected by the town, and subsequently by the inhabitants of the city, and possessing statutory powers which made it largely independent of the city council — resisted the proposed change in the disposition of the paupers; and it was not until Mr. Quincy became mayor, and obtained additional legislation, that the reformation which he had recommended was fully carried into effect.

> "The evils attendant on the promiscuous mingling of the honest poor with rogues and vagabonds were mitigated by the establishment of the first House of Correction, properly so called, in Boston during the first year of his mayoralty. A building in the jail-yard was used at first for this purpose, but the establishment was afterward removed to South Boston, near the House of Industry. The separation, more important yet, of the young convicts from the old in places of penal restraint led to the establishment of a House of Reformation for juvenile offenders, the results of which — both direct, in the large proportion of young persons who were saved to society by its means, and indirect, by the encouragement which its successful experiment has given to the system elsewhere — have been of the happiest nature." [1]

As chairman of the school committee, Mr. Quincy took an active interest in the public schools. His action upon one question, the maintenance of a high school for girls, raised a good deal of feeling against him at the time; and, if repeated at the present day in the face of the more numerous advocates of a higher education for women, the feeling would

[1] *Life of Josiah Quincy*, by Edmund Quincy, p. 394.

doubtless be intensified; but the principle which he stated at the time, as governing his opposition to the establishment of a high school which would be used almost wholly by the daughters of wealthy parents, was a sound one. "The standard of public education," he said, "should be raised to the greatest desirable and practicable height; but it should be effected by raising the standard of the common schools." [1]

During Mr. Quincy's second term he had the honor of receiving and entertaining General Lafayette, who was made the guest of the city. The building at the corner of Park and Beacon streets was given up to the city by the club which occupied it, and, having been completely furnished and provided with servants, was made the home of the distinguished visitor during his stay.[2]

There were many other events of interest in the municipal history of the city during Mr. Quincy's administration; but as they were of a temporary character the limits of this work preclude any description of them. It was hardly possible for any man to do what Mr. Quincy did during those years without raising an opposition which must sooner or later deprive him of an office held by the frail tenure of an annual election. As his sixth term drew to a close, the opposition combined and assumed a tone of bitterness and malignancy which has seldom been equalled even on a much larger political field. The reorganization of the fire department provoked the hostility of a class of voters who were active and somewhat unscrupulous. Then there were those whose private interests had suffered in the establishment of the new market-house and the penal and reformatory institutions, and in the enforcement of the laws relating to gambling, prostitution, and the sale of intoxicating liquors. In carrying out the street improvements and the enlargement of the market, a city debt, amounting to $637,000, had been created; and this excited consider-

[1] [See the chapters by Mr. Dillaway and Mrs. Cheney, in Vol. IV. — ED.]

[2] [There is an account by General W. H. Sumner of Lafayette's visit, with the entertainment given him, in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1859. (See Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 354.) The editor has been favored with the use of a scrap-book, filled with newspaper clippings, broadsides, etc., collected by Miss E. S. Quincy during Lafayette's stay in America. A manuscript note in it says: "On Commencement day, Mayor Quincy called for Lafayette at his lodgings, and while the barouche waited for the Governor's carriage to precede, a crowd gathered. 'Have you ever been in Europe, Mr. Quincy?' asked the guest. 'No, never.' 'Then you can have no idea of what a crowd is in Europe. I declare, in comparison the people of Boston seem to me like a picked population out of the whole human race.'" (See also Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 404.) An arch, which was erected on the Neck, just above Dover Street, bore this inscription, written by Charles Sprague: —

WELCOME, LAFAYETTE!

The fathers in glory shall sleep,
That gathered with thee to the fight;
But the sons will eternally keep
The tablet of gratitude bright.
We bow not the neck; we bend not the knee:
But our hearts, Lafayette, we surrender to thee!

In a recent account of this visit, by Ella R. Church, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1881, it is stated, in testimony of Lafayette's happy memory, that at the reception at the State House he recognized an elderly colored man who, as a servant of Hancock, had waited upon the Marquis when a guest of his master forty years before. The descendants of Major Judah Alden also preserve by tradition a remark which he made to that old soldier when he first saw him on this visit, — "Alden, how are you? I know you by your nose!" See also Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, p. 282. — ED.]

able discontent among the taxpayers, although the Mayor was able to show that in carrying out these improvements the city had become possessed of real estate exceeding in value $700,000.[1] He could never have

PARK STREET.[2]

maintained his position as long as he did, had he not been a man of the strictest integrity, — a man against whom even an unscrupulous opposition

[1] The average rate of taxation during the last seven years under the town government was $8.15 on a thousand. During the first seven years, under the city government, it was $7.27.

[2] [The house on the left of the picture is the one occupied by Lafayette. It was built about 1804, by Thomas Amory, but with its extension was afterward converted into four dwellings. Malbone the painter, Samuel Dexter the lawyer, and Governor Christopher Gore have all lived in it. It is also seen in the heliotype of the Common, 1804–1810, given in another chapter. The portion above and beyond the main entrance became the residence of George Ticknor, the historian of Spanish literature, and in it he died. The window above the front door, and the two

found it impossible to frame a charge of dishonesty, — and had he not, moreover, constantly used his tongue and his pen to explain and defend his measures before the people.

At the municipal election in December, 1828, Mr. Quincy failed on the first ballot to receive a majority of all the votes cast. Another ballot was then taken with substantially the same result.[1] Thereupon the Mayor sent a note to the press, stating that "no consideration would induce him to again accept the office."

At the close of his term he summoned the two branches of the city council to meet in convention, and delivered an address which those who had made themselves conspicuous in opposing him must have long remembered. In concluding he said: —

"And now, Gentlemen, standing as I do in this relation for the last time in your presence and that of my fellow-citizens, about to surrender forever a station full of difficulty, of labor, and temptation, in which I have been called to very arduous duties, affecting the rights, property, and at times the liberty of others; concerning which the perfect line of rectitude — though desired — was not always to be clearly discerned; in which great interests have been placed within my control, under circumstances in which it would have been easy to advance private ends and sinister projects, — under these circumstances, I inquire, as I have a right to inquire, — for in the recent contest insinuations have been cast against my integrity, — in this long management of your affairs, whatever errors have been committed (and doubtless there have been many), have you found in me anything selfish, anything personal, anything mercenary? In the simple language of an ancient seer, I say: 'Behold, here I am; witness against me. Whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed? At whose hands have I received any bribe?'"[2]

After Mr. Quincy's withdrawal from the canvass, Harrison Gray Otis was induced to become a candidate, and was elected without opposition for

windows beyond it, lighted his library, of which a view is given in Mr. Cummings's chapter in this volume. The house next beyond, originally the home of Abbott Lawrence, the merchant and ambassador, is now occupied by the Union Club. Mayor Quincy lived in a house further down the street. Park Street, when laid out by Charles Bulfinch in 1804–5, was called Park Place, and had the following residents from the church up: General Arnold Welles, Dr. John C. Warren, Richard Sullivan, Jonathan Davis, John Gore, Judge A. Ward, Jonathan Amory, Governor Gore. In 1860 the houses, going up the street, were occupied by Thomas Wigglesworth, Dr. J. Mason Warren, Mrs. T. W. Ward, Josiah Quincy, Jr., President Quincy, J. Sullivan Warren, Governor Henry J. Gardner, Mrs. Abbott Lawrence, George Ticknor. See view of Common in *Life of John C. Warren*. The statue of Daniel Webster, by Hiram Powers, standing in the State House yard, in the foreground, was erected in 1859, and Edward Everett delivered the dedicatory oration. See Editorial Note to the chapter on "The Bench and Bar," in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[1] On the first ballot Mr. Quincy lacked eighty-three votes of a majority; and on the second ballot he lacked sixty-six votes.

[2] I have dwelt at some length on this early period of our municipal history, because the foundations of our present system were then established. Indeed, something more than the foundations were laid. It may be said in general terms that the only material changes made in the system which was put into operation during the administration and through the instrumentality of Mayor Quincy have been made in recent years; and have been necessitated, as the change from the town to the city government was alone necessitated, by the increase of population. See *Report* of Commissioners on the revision of the City Charter, *City Document* 3 of 1875.

three successive terms. He was at this time sixty-three years of age, having been born in Boston, Oct. 8, 1760.[1]

The principal recommendation which he had to make in his first address to the city council was that the project for railroad communication with the Hudson River should be encouraged. "Unless," he said, "the surveys and calculation of skilful persons employed in this business are fallacious, there is no doubt that a railroad from this city to the Hudson may be made with no greater elevation in any part than is found between the head of Long Wharf and the Old State House; and that the income would pay the interest of the capital employed."[2]

On the day fixed for the organization of the city government of 1830, Mr. Otis was unwell, and the members of the city council were invited to assemble at his private residence for the purpose of being qualified. It was a proceeding without precedent; but no one thought of questioning the propriety of any request from Mr. Otis. His invitation was equivalent to a command; and the aldermen and councilmen went to his house and were sworn in, and listened to the reading of the inaugural address. It appeared that the city debt was $883,630; and that the assets, exclusive of city lands, amounted to $257,341.42. The assessors' valuation of real and personal property for purposes of taxation was $29,793.00, and the rate of taxation was $8.10 on a thousand.[3] The fifth national census, of 1830, gave the city a population of sixty-one thousand three hundred and ninety-two.

In May of this year the Society for the Suppression of Intemperance petitioned for a band of music on the Common during the afternoons and evenings of the general election, and on the Fourth of July,—"such a practice having, in their judgment, a tendency to promote order and suppress

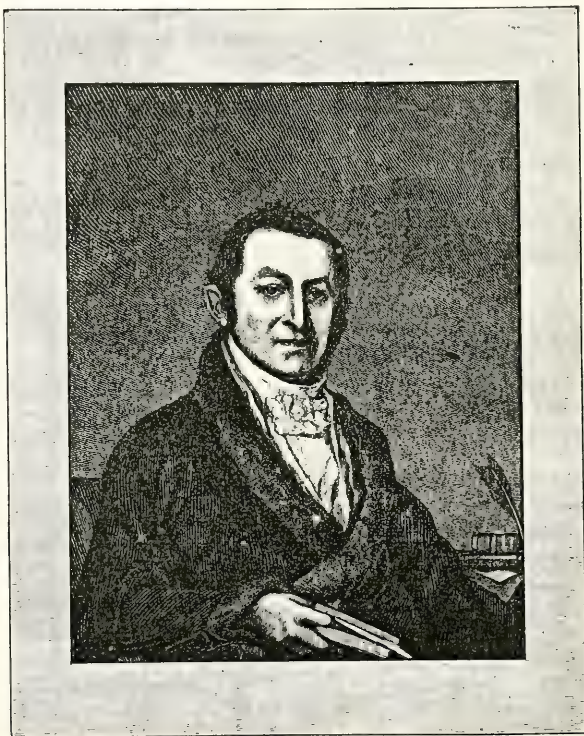
[1] He had been prominent in public affairs almost from the time of his leaving college. In 1788, when twenty-three years of age, he delivered the Fourth of July oration before the town authorities. He was a man of courtly manners and winning address. His style of oratory was much admired in those days; but his published speeches and addresses fail to sustain the reputation which he held among his contemporaries. His political popularity had been on the wane for some years, and he could not forbear making a pathetic reference to the fact in his first inaugural address as mayor. This address, delivered in Faneuil Hall in presence of a large assembly of citizens, had for its principal object the vindication of Mr. Otis's political career. To afford him an opportunity for so doing, in a sort of semi-official way, was probably the chief inducement to his acceptance of the office. His connection with the Hartford Convention having been made the basis of a charge of disloyalty, he took occasion to "distinctly and solemnly assert that at no time in the course of my life have I been present at any meeting of individuals, public or private, of the many or the few, or privy to any correspondence of whatever description, in which any proposition having for its object the dissolution of the Union, or its dismemberment in any shape, or a separate confederacy, or a forcible resistance to the government or laws, was ever made or debated; that I have no reason to believe that any such scheme was ever meditated by distinguished individuals of the old Federal party." [See H. C. Lodge's chapter immediately preceding this. — ED.]

[2] [See further on this subject Mr. C. F. Adams's chapter in Vol. IV. — ED.]

[3] It should be stated that the law in force at this time (see Rev. Sts. 1836, c. 7, §§ 15, 30, 37) permitted assessors after they had made a true valuation of the real and personal estate, to assess taxes upon a reduced value, provided their record should show both the real value and the assessed value. The assessors of Boston, from a date preceding 1830, and including 1841, assessed half the true value. From 1842 to the present time assessments have been made upon the full valuations.

an inclination to riot and intemperance." An appropriation was made from the city treasury to carry out the request of the petitioners.

On the recommendation of the Mayor, the city council voted to alter the Old State House, at the head of State Street, so as to provide accom-



H. G. Otis[1]

modations therein for the mayor, aldermen, common council, and other city officers. It was decided to take possession of the new apartments on

[1] [This cut follows a likeness painted by Gilbert Stuart about 1814, and owned by the late George W. Lyman, who kindly permitted it to be engraved. A memoir of Otis by Augustus T. Perkins is in the *Memorial Biographies* of the N. E. Historic, Genealogical Society, 1880, vol. i. See Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 188. A portrait of Mrs. Otis, after a picture by Malbone, is given in Griswold's *Republican Court*. — ED.]

September 17, the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town. Mr. Josiah Quincy, who, after retiring from the mayoralty, had become President of Harvard College, accepted an invitation to deliver an address on the same day. Accordingly, on the morning of the seventeenth the two branches of the city council being assembled in convention, the Mayor made an address, "after which," as the record states, "the two branches went in procession to the Old South Church, escorted by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, where an address was delivered by the Hon. Josiah Quincy, and a poem by Charles Sprague, Esq."[1]

In his inaugural address for 1831 the Mayor had no special recommendations to make except in regard to the administration of county affairs. What he had to say on this point led to the passage of an act by the Legislature, vesting all the property of the county of Suffolk in the city of Boston, and requiring the city thenceforward to furnish and maintain all the county buildings, and to pay all the county charges.

In the municipal election which took place Dec. 12, 1831, there were three prominent candidates, Charles Wells, William Sullivan, and Theodore Lyman, Jr. Mr. Wells and Mr. Lyman received, in round numbers, eighteen hundred votes each, and Mr. Sullivan eleven hundred. A second election was held December 22, the contest being between Mr. Wells and Mr. Lyman, and the former was elected by a majority of seven hundred and four votes, and re-elected in the following year without opposition.

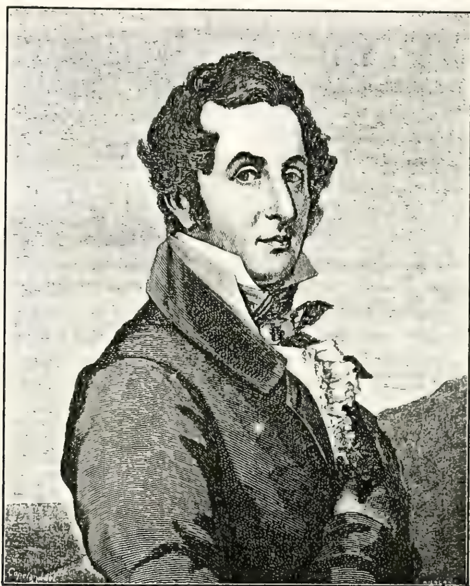
The election of Charles Wells[2] was a sort of protest from the middle classes against the magnificent way of doing things inaugurated by Quincy and Otis, and against any further increase of the city debt. He had some knowledge of city affairs, having served as a member of the common council and the board of aldermen. He was a man of simple character, not much versed in affairs of state, but not ill-qualified, on the whole, to perform the ordinary duties of the mayor's office. He made no formal address when the city government was organized in 1832, and his two terms of service were not marked by any events of importance beyond the erection of the present Court House, the extension of Broad, Commercial, and Tremont streets, and the establishment and enforcement of strict quarantine regulations, by which the inhabitants were protected from the spread of cholera, then (in 1832) prevalent in the British provinces.

At the election which took place in December, 1833, there were two candidates for the mayoralty. Theodore Lyman, Jr., who was called the Jackson candidate, and William Sullivan, who was the candidate of the

[1] [See Vol. I. p. 246. — Ed]. The only other notable event of this year was the exclusion of cows from the Common. Rights of pasturage on this public ground had been enjoyed by certain of the householders ever since 1660; and had the cows behaved with proper respect to the ladies, Mayor Otis would never have interfered with their ancient privileges.

[2] He was born in Boston, Dec. 30, 1786, and was by occupation a master builder.

National Republicans, the party which had supported Mr. Wells. The contest resulted in the election of Mr. Lyman, who held the office for two terms.[1] He made no address when the government was sworn in on the first Monday in January; but he took occasion a few weeks later to send a long and carefully prepared message to the common council, recommending to its "early and earnest attention the subject of bringing a copious and steady supply of pure and soft water into the city of Boston." A portion



THEODORE LYMAN.[2]

of the inhabitants were supplied with water at this time by an aqueduct corporation, chartered in 1795. The water was conveyed from Jamaica Pond, in West Roxbury, through four main pipes of pitch-pine logs.[3] The

[1] He was a native of Boston, born Feb. 20, 1792, and was educated at Phillips Academy and Harvard College. A man of admirable parts, of good understanding, enlarged by a liberal education and extensive foreign travel, he was well equipped for a more responsible and dignified office than the one which a laudable ambition to serve his fellow-citizens had prompted him to accept.

[2] [This cut follows a likeness by Gérard, painted in Paris in 1818, and now owned by Colonel Theodore Lyman. There is a sketch of Mr. Lyman's character in L. M. Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, No. 56, p. 204; and a memoir by his son, Colonel Theodore Lyman, in the *Memorial Biographies* of the N. E. Hist. Geneal. Soc., 1880, vol. i. See the *Genealogy of the Lyman Family*, by Lyman Coleman, Albany, 1872. — ED.]

[3] [The route of this aqueduct is shown in Dearborn's map of 1814, given in another chapter. — ED.]

lineal extent of the pipes in Boston was about fifteen miles, extending on the easterly side of the city nearly to State Street, and on the westerly side to the Massachusetts General Hospital. In 1825, on the recommendation of a committee of the city council, Mr. Quincy appointed Professor Daniel Treadwell a commissioner "to ascertain the practicability of supplying the city with good water for the domestic use of the inhabitants, as well as for the extinguishing of fires and all the general purposes of comfort and cleanliness." Professor Treadwell subsequently reported that there were two places in the neighborhood of Boston from which an adequate supply of pure water could be obtained, and which appeared to possess advantages over all others; namely Charles River, above the falls of Watertown, and Spot Pond, in Stoneham. Estimates of the cost of bringing water into the city from those two places were furnished; but no further action was taken by the city council until 1833, when the Mayor was requested to apply to the Legislature for the necessary authority to supply the inhabitants with water. The authority was not granted; and there the matter rested until Mr. Lyman's message was received. The subject was then referred to a committee of which the Mayor was chairman, and they selected Colonel Loammi Baldwin, a distinguished engineer, to make a survey of the several sources of supply. Colonel Baldwin's report was of great and permanent value. It furnished the basis on which all subsequent surveys and reports relating to the water supply have been made. He came to the conclusion that Farm Pond, in Framingham, and Long Pond, in Natick, were the most eligible sources. The committee having the subject in charge recommended that the question of introducing water through the agency of the city council should be submitted to the people; but no action was taken beyond printing and distributing the engineer's report. Twelve years elapsed, during which a water supply was the principal topic of discussion in the city government; and then, in 1846, satisfactory legislation was obtained, enabling the city to draw from the sources recommended by Colonel Baldwin.[1]

On the night of Aug. 11, 1834, the Ursuline Convent, on Mount Benedict in Charlestown (now Somerville), was destroyed by a mob, composed largely of men who lived in Boston. Vague threats of what the "Boston Truckmen" intended to do were made for days and even weeks beforehand, but they produced no serious impression upon the authorities or upon the citizens generally; and when the mob rolled up to the convent doors and began its work of destruction, there was not a solitary policeman or other peace officer to bar its progress.

The Ursuline school, from which the institution derived its support, was composed almost entirely of Protestant pupils, many of them the daughters of wealthy or well-to-do parents living in Boston or in its vicinity; but dark stories had been circulated concerning the restraint put upon some of the

[1] [A history of the introduction of water into Boston was prepared by Nathaniel J. Bradlee, and printed in 1868; and a supplement, by D. Fitzgerald, was added in 1876. — ED.]

nuns. One of them, while in delirium from brain fever, had escaped in her night-dress and taken refuge in a farm-house near by. While being taken back to the convent, her ravings had attracted attention, and it was said that she had fallen under the displeasure of the lady superior, and been long confined in an underground cell. About this time a sensational book, called *Six Months in a Convent*, was published as the work of a girl who had just escaped from the Ursuline Convent. "It purported to relate the threats and persuasions used by the inmates of the convent to make the writer a Catholic against her will; and it ended with an account of her escape from their clutches just in time to save herself from being carried off by force to St. Louis." The common people believed all these stories; and it must be said that the original impulse which moved those who organized the attack on the convent was not a bad one. They regarded this institution, and all such institutions, as "anti-Christian, anti-republican," and in every way "injurious to the best interests of the community;" but that feeling would probably never have moved them to acts of violence. What did move them was the belief that an old-world institution had been established among them where persons were deprived of their liberty, and where gross immoralities were practised by "a company of unmarried women placed for life under the sole control of a company of unmarried men." The way in which they proceeded to vindicate republican institutions and the laws of society cannot, of course, be excused from any point of view; but there is this to be said, that they acted from a much higher motive than the men who, in the following year, dragged Garrison through the streets, or who, many years afterward, broke up Antislavery meetings and resisted the enforcement of the Conscription Act.

As the mob surged up to the building, the lady superior, a woman of great courage and dignity, but altogether wanting in discretion, tore herself from the detaining hands of the sisters, and, rushing out on the front steps, ordered the men to disperse immediately; "for if you don't," she is reported to have said, "the Bishop has twenty thousand Irishmen at his command, in Boston, who will whip you all into the sea." One cannot help feeling a sort of admiration for the fiery little French-Irish woman, standing alone before some thousands of riotous Protestant Americans and making such a speech; but such a speech, if made, was not calculated to soothe the passions of those to whom it was addressed. Two shots were fired at this time by some one in the crowd; "and the affrighted nuns, hovering in the shadow of the door, behind my lady, pulled her back by force and barred the door." All the inmates of the institution then withdrew to the back-garden, and subsequently found refuge in a private house on Winter Hill. The doors of the convent were forced, the rooms ransacked, and the building was then set on fire and entirely destroyed. Several of the engine companies in Boston, attracted by the light of the fire, went to the scene with their engines, and were afterward charged with aiding the rioters; but the charge was not sustained. As the work of destruction went on, the spirit

of lawlessness and violence developed rapidly, as is usual in such cases, and was stimulated by drink. The lady superior was sought for, and had she been found she would probably have been killed.

On the day following the affair at Mount Benedict, there were serious apprehensions of a riot in Boston; and a conflict would undoubtedly have taken place between the returning rioters and the Irish population, had not the Mayor taken measures to prevent it.[1] He called a meeting in Faneuil Hall at one o'clock that day; and, after speeches by Mr. Quincy and Mr. Otis, resolutions were adopted in which the attack on the convent was denounced as "a base and cowardly act;" and the Mayor was requested to appoint a committee of citizens to investigate the affair, and "to adopt every suitable mode of bringing the authors and abettors of the outrage to justice."

On the request of the Mayor, the State authorities made arrangements to call out the militia in case the *posse comitatus* was found inadequate to the support of the laws; but no further disturbance occurred. Madame St. George, the vivacious lady superior, being unable to hire another building in this vicinity for her purpose, and making herself somewhat obnoxious by her snuff-taking, her levity, and her denunciations of the *canaille*, drifted off with her black-robed sisters into another part of the country, and was heard of no more by the "Boston Truckmen;" but the blackened and crumbling walls of the convent remain to mark the spot where once stood the most "elegant and imposing building ever erected in New England for the education of girls."[2]

In his inaugural address, at the beginning of the year 1835, the Mayor called attention to the city debt, now amounting to $1,265,164.28, and suggested that if the present policy of borrowing for all purposes that could not be considered as strictly belonging to the current expenses of the year was pursued, it was obvious that in a single century there would be an accumulation both of interest, which it would be troublesome and inconvenient to pay, and of principal, which it would be most burdensome to redeem. He recommended, therefore, that whenever any new public work was ordered, a certain proportion of the cost should be added to the appropriations of the year. To this recommendation we owe the establishment of a sinking

[1] Colonel Theodore Lyman writes:—

"I used to hear my father relate the amusing device by which he prevented an anti-Catholic riot in Boston, after the convent affair. The Charlestown mob had arranged to march in procession on the day following the fire, and to pass through Boston with a brass band, and bearing Catholic trophies stolen from the convent. *Per contra*, the Irish prepared to attack the procession when it entered the city.

"My father sent for the leader of the band, and said: 'You are to play at the *head* of the procession. The militia are under arms. They will fire. You are a stout man, and will be surely shot!' Immediately the band-master went in all haste and told them he would not play. This defection damped their ardor. However, a small number collected and began to move across Charlestown Bridge. At the city end my father had stationed a man on horseback, who, as the crowd drew near, turned and, in an ostentatious way, galloped furiously off. Immediately a cry rose: 'He is going for the military!' and the mob retired whence it came!"

[2] [See the statements on these events made in the chapter on "The Roman Catholic Church in Boston," in the present volume, and also *City Document* 11 of 1834.—Ed.]

fund, which has been of great value in preserving the city credit. He also dwelt at some length in his message on the subject of pauperism, and the reformation of juvenile offenders, making some valuable suggestions which were afterward acted upon.[1]

It was during this year that the famous demonstration against the Abolition movement occurred, of which a particular account is given in another chapter.[2]

On August 15 a great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, to show that the wealth and intelligence of Boston were opposed to any interference with the constitutional guarantees which protected slavery. The Mayor presided; and it should be said of him, as of many others who took part in this meeting, that, while condemning the methods of the Abolitionists, he was heartily in sympathy with any measures by which, in a constitutional way, slavery could be restricted or exterminated. His Fourth of July oration before the town authorities, in 1820, and his Report to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in 1822, on the admission into this State of free negroes and mulattoes, show that from early manhood he had sympathized with the Antislavery cause.

A few days before the outbreak (October 21), a letter written by a graduate of the theological seminary at Andover, whose integrity of character was vouched for by the professors, had been published in the newspapers, stating that George Thompson had said to him, three or four times, "that every slave-holder ought to have his throat cut." Thompson denied having made the statement; but in the face of a solemn re-affirmation of its truth by the person who originally made it, the denial went for little. What followed was undoubtedly due largely to the feeling created by this statement.

It was chiefly against Thompson that the passions of the hour were aroused; and when the Mayor, on inquiry, learned that Thompson was not in the city, and would not be present at the meeting whose announcement had caused so much solicitude on his part, there seemed to him no reason to apprehend any serious disturbance of the peace, and no extraordinary precautions were taken. Upon the seizure of Garrison, however, by the mob, — the circumstances attending which need not be repeated here, — and his rescue by the police, the Mayor ordered the officers to take him into the City Hall, and offered his own body as a shield against the rioters. After a stubborn fight, the entrance to the City Hall was

[1] The establishment of the State Reform School at Westboro', "for the proper discipline, instruction, employment, and reformation of juvenile offenders," the first institution of the kind in America, was due mainly to Mr. Lyman. He gave $22,500 to the school during his lifetime, the sole condition being that his name should not then be made public; and he left to it $50,000 more by his last will. The success of the school has been due as much perhaps to his wise suggestions at the time of its foundation as to his princely gifts. In the last codicil to his will he suggested a separate school of a similar character for girls; and to that suggestion we owe the institution now in operation at Lancaster. He was the benefactor, and for many years the manager, of the Farm School for Boys on Thompson's Island.

[2] [That on "The Antislavery Movement," by James Freeman Clarke. — ED.]

gained, and Garrison was conveyed upstairs to the Mayor's office. As the crowd attempted to follow, the Mayor took his stand on the steps, and declared that "any person who passed there would have to pass over his dead body." Night was coming on, and the excitement of the crowd showing no abatement, it was thought best to commit Garrison to the jail, ostensibly as a disturber of the peace. The necessary papers were made out by the sheriff, who was present, and after a hard fight he was put into a carriage and conveyed by a circuitous route to the jail, where he again barely escaped falling into the clutches of the crowd assembled about the entrance. As the doors of the jail closed upon him, he sank exhausted on a seat, exclaiming, "Never was a man so rejoiced to get into a jail before."[1] He received no personal injuries while in the hands of the mob. On the day following his commitment he was discharged from the jail, and, acting on the advice of friends, retired to the country for a short time.

The Mayor has been blamed for not having a sufficient civil force at hand to check the mob in the beginning, and for not calling out the military forces later, to prevent the necessity of committing Garrison to jail as a criminal; but it appears that he did use, as effectively as possible, the small police force at his command; and that, as the law then stood, he had no such power as the mayor now has to issue precepts calling the militia to the aid of the civil authorities. Mr. Samuel E. Sewall, an Abolitionist who took part in the meeting which caused the riot, and who was very active in efforts for Garrison's security, said, in a communication to the *Liberator* shortly after the affair, that he believed the Mayor "was as sincerely desirous of suppressing the riot as any man in the city," and that he had "adopted such measures as seemed to him calculated to effect the object."

There is no doubt that the public sentiment of the community was in sympathy with the mob to the extent of breaking up the meeting; and while it was not in sympathy with it to the extent of doing personal violence to Mr. Garrison, it was not in favor of punishing those who laid violent hands upon him. According to one of the papers, the mob was composed, in part at least, of "gentlemen of property and standing." The *Advertiser* of the day following concluded a very short account of the affair by saying: —

> "As far as we had an opportunity for observing the deportment of the great number of persons assembled, there appeared to be a strong desire that no act of violence should be committed any further than was necessary to prevent these fomenters of discord from addressing a public meeting. If those who call these useless meetings have not regard enough for the public quiet to avoid the summoning of another assemblage of this kind, we trust the proper authorities will take care that they are bound over to keep the peace."

It is true, as has been stated, that hardly a night passes in any of our larger cities without greater violence done to person and to property than occurred in the so-called "Garrison mob." It would long ago have passed

[1] *Boston Atlas*, Oct. 22, 1835. This statement is corroborated by persons who heard Mr. Garrison use substantially the same words in describing the affair shortly after it occurred.

out of memory but for the prominence which the man and his cause afterward attained. Garrison was then an obscure individual. During Mr. Otis's administration the mayor of Baltimore requested him to suppress the *Liberator*, copies of which were sent to that city. Mr. Otis wrote to him that the "officers had ferreted out the paper and its editor, whose office was an obscure hole; his only visible auxiliary, a negro boy; his supporters, a few ignorant persons of all colors."

While the Mayor had no sympathy with the mob, and stood up bravely in defence of the object of its persecution, he was not as zealous as he might have been in seeking out and punishing those who had committed such an offence against the rights of an American citizen; not as solicitous for the good name of the city as he showed himself to be when he called a meeting in Faneuil Hall to denounce the destruction of the Ursuline Convent; not as energetic as the mayor of 1837, who in two hours mustered a sufficient military force to put down the great riot in Broad Street. Looking back upon it at this day, one cannot but regret that the feeling which prompted him to shield Mr. Garrison with his own body had not induced him to make the effort, at least, to punish those who had so openly defied his authority.

At the municipal election in December, 1835, Samuel Turrell Armstrong,[1] the Whig candidate, was elected mayor for the ensuing year. He held the office for only one term, and the principal acts of his administration appear to have been the erection of the gloomy iron fence which still encloses three sides of the Common, and the extension of the mall through the burial ground on Boylston Street. The new Court House in Court Square was completed this year; and the ringing of the church-bells was changed from eleven o'clock to one, — or, as it was said, from the hour for drinking to the hour for dining.[2]

For some reason Mr. Armstrong was not a candidate for re-election; and at the end of his term the Whigs put up Samuel Atkins Eliot,[3] a successful and highly respected Boston merchant, and elected him over the combined opposition by a majority of about eight hundred votes. He held the office for three years, and showed a remarkable aptitude for the performance of its duties. Following the custom of his immediate predecessors, Mr. Eliot made no formal address upon the organization of the city government at the beginning of his first term.

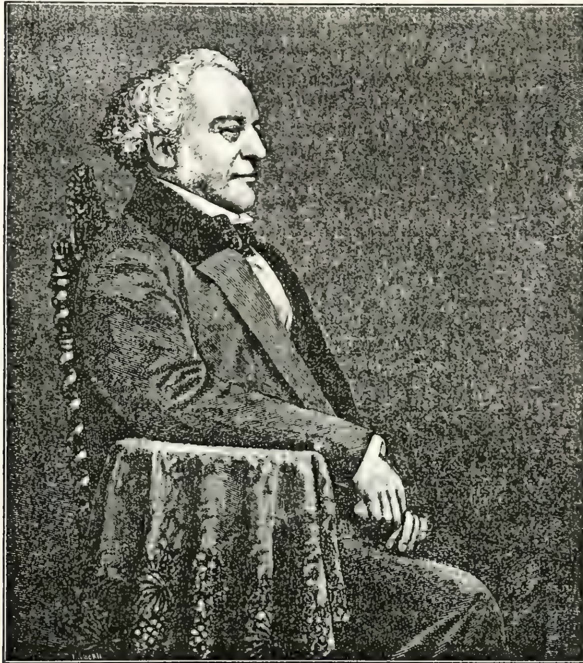
The most important act of his administration was the reorganization of the fire department. The necessity of bringing that department into a

[1] He was born in Dorchester, Mass., April 29, 1784; educated at the public schools, and became a printer, publisher, and bookseller. He had been a member of the board of aldermen for four years (1828–31); Lieut.-Governor of the State for three years (1833–35), and Acting Governor after the election of Governor John Davis to the United States Senate, March 4, 1835.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 509. — Ed.]

[3] He was a native of Boston, born March 5, 1798, and had served as a member of the board of aldermen while Mr. Lyman held the mayoralty.

higher state of discipline and efficiency was made apparent to the citizens on the occasion of the Broad-Street riot. The succession of violent disturbances of the peace which took place during these early years under the city government shows that there must have been in these "good old times," as they are now called, a greater tendency to fighting and to the destruction of property than there is at the present time. The Boston of that day was small, but it was evidently intense. Its feelings could not



SAMUEL A. ELIOT.[1]

then, as now, find expression in the mild vagaries of a Radical Club. The truckmen, looking piously on the motto of the city seal, saw no other way of preserving the religion of their fathers than by burning the first convent that was set up in their neighborhood; the merchants, having in their keeping the material prosperity of the city, saw no other way of preserving that on which its prosperity rested — the Union of the States —

[1] [This cut follows a photograph, taken about 1850, kindly loaned by Charles W. Eliot, his son, President of Harvard University. A portrait of Mayor Eliot by Stuart, taken about 1817, is now in the possession of Professor Charles Eliot Norton, in Cambridge. For his family connections, see Vol. IV. p. 7. He died in 1862. — ED.]

than by hustling Mr. Garrison, and then locking him up in jail for allowing himself to be hustled; the firemen — the embodiment of a long series of Fourth of July orations — saw no other way of vindicating American muscle and American independence than by breaking the heads of their Irish fellow-citizens.

It was on Sunday, June 11, 1837, that the Broad-Street riot occurred. An engine company returning from a fire came into collision with an Irish funeral procession. It would not have been a serious affair had not an alarm of fire been sounded on the church-bells, calling other fire companies to the scene. The Irish had a temporary advantage in numbers; but the firemen, and those who came to their aid, soon got the upper hand. The Irish were driven into their houses, whither they were followed by their assailants, who had now reached a pitch of fury which, but for the appearance of the military, would have ended in the destruction of the whole Irish quarter of the town. No lives were lost, however, but there was a good deal of blood-letting, and considerable property was destroyed. It was estimated that over fifteen thousand persons were concerned in the affair. The Mayor was on the ground at the first alarm, and finding himself powerless to preserve order with the small police force under his command, he took immediate steps to have the military called out. Fortunately for the peace of the city, the National Lancers, constituting a company of cavalry in the militia organization of the Commonwealth, had just been formed, and the members being well known the authorities were able to bring them together at short notice. Portions of several companies of infantry were also collected; and in two hours after the affray began the Mayor entered Broad Street at the head of some eight hundred men under arms. The Lancers led the way and did the most effective service. The street presented a singular spectacle at this time. The air was full of flying feathers and straw from the beds which had been ripped open and emptied out of the windows; some of the tenement houses were completely sacked, the occupants fleeing for their lives. Peace was restored very soon after the arrival of the militia; but the people were in such an excited state that a military patrol was maintained through the night, and sentinels were posted at all the church doors to prevent false alarms. The energetic action of the Mayor alone prevented a serious loss of life. From the report of an investigating committee of the city council, it appears that the blame for beginning the disturbance rests about equally on the firemen and the Irishmen.

The moral which the Mayor drew from the occurrence was that both the police and fire departments ought to be reorganized. He succeeded in making the changes he desired in the fire department, but failed to secure the co-operation of the city council in his proposed reform of the police department. The firemen at that time received no compensation for their services. A small annual allowance was made to the engine and hook and ladder companies to pay for refreshments; but beyond that the free souls

composing the department disdained to receive anything. The Mayor saw that in order to secure discipline reasonable compensation must be made for the services required. He told the city council that "it ought not to be regarded as a matter of reproach to any one to receive pay for his labor." He saw no reason why the firemen should not be paid and still retain all the ambition, ardor, and generous spirit which characterize voluntary associations, and which are not less characteristic of naval and military corps. The compensation was intended as an inducement for the firemen to place themselves under that strict discipline necessary to insure efficiency, and not as an equivalent for perils which could not be really paid for. The ordinance reorganizing the department and fixing the pay of its members was passed and went into operation on the first of September. For several weeks it was necessary to maintain all over Boston volunteer patrols against incendiaries.

In the following year authority was procured from the Legislature for the appointment by the mayor and aldermen of police officers, with all the powers of constables except the power of serving and executing any civil process. Under this authority a small police force for day duty was organized and placed under the city marshal, who was the principal health-officer of the city. This force was entirely separate and distinct from the watch, which at this time included one hundred and ten watchmen and ten constables, who went on duty at six o'clock in the winter and at seven o'clock in the summer, and patrolled the streets until sunrise.

At the municipal election in December, 1837, the inhabitants were called upon to give in their votes on several amendments to the city charter proposed by the city council. Most of the amendments were merely for the purpose of curing certain defects in the phraseology of the original act; but there was one which transferred from the inhabitants of the several wards to the city council the power of electing overseers of the poor, and this proposition was regarded with so much disfavor that all the amendments were defeated. They were again submitted at a special election in February, 1838, and again rejected.

Under the authority of an act of the Legislature, a superintendent of alien passengers was first appointed by the city in 1837. It was made the duty of that officer to prevent the landing of persons incompetent to maintain themselves, unless a bond was given that the person should not become a charge to the city or the State within ten years; and the sum of two dollars was collected from all other alien passengers as a commutation for the bond. Some years afterward this assessment of "head money," as it was called, was resisted by the transportation companies; and a case being carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, the law which authorized it was declared to be unconstitutional.

The erection of a hospital for the insane was begun in 1837, on the grounds adjoining the houses of Industry and Correction, in South Boston; and was opened for patients in 1839.

In his inaugural address at the beginning of the year 1838 the Mayor referred to the commercial crisis which had occurred during the previous year, and stated that it had produced far less general distress in this community than in some others. He recommended the erection of a new city hall and a county jail; but no action was taken on these recommendations beyond procuring plans and estimates for the former. No other measures of importance received the attention of the city council during this year.

At the charter election in December, 1839, Jonathan Chapman,[1] the Whig candidate, was elected mayor, and held the office for the three following years. When he took office in January, 1840, he addressed the city council at some length, recommending, as the principal object of their efforts, the gradual reduction of the city debt. From $100,000 the debt had in eighteen years risen to $1,698,232; but the city had in the mean time acquired a property which not only accommodated the public business, but furnished an income which covered more than half the interest on the debt; and it owned, besides, about $200,000 in bonds and notes, and between five and six million feet of land and flats. The national census taken this year gave the city a population of ninety-three thousand three hundred and eighty-three. The valuation of the real and personal property of the city for purposes of taxation amounted to $47,290,800,[2] and the rate of taxation was $11 on $1,000. The annual current expenses of the city, excluding all except those for ordinary purposes, and also the payments on account of the principal or interest of the city debt, amounted to about $425,000. The public schools absorbed nearly a quarter of this amount.

The project of building a new city hall on land lying between the Court House and School Street, which had been purchased for the purpose during the preceding year, was not favored by the Mayor. When, later in the year, a new building for the probate and registry offices was completed, and the old county court house was abandoned, the city council decided to remodel the old building for the purposes of a city hall. This was done for a comparatively small expense, and the city government took possession of its new quarters on March 18, 1841, and listened to an address from the Mayor.

The year 1840 formed a sort of epoch in the commercial history of the city. Through the enterprise of Mr. Samuel Cunard, steam navigation was established between Boston and Liverpool.[3] The event was celebrated by a great dinner, given on July 22, in a pavilion in front of the Maverick House

[1] He was born in Boston, Jan. 23, 1807, and was the son of Captain Jonathan Chapman, who had served in the office of selectman for the town of Boston. He received his education at Phillips Academy and Harvard College, and entered the Suffolk Bar from Judge Shaw's office. He possessed considerable literary ability; was a contributor to the *North American Review*, the *Christian Examiner*, and the newspapers of the day, an effective speaker on social and political occasions, and altogether a man of rather brilliant parts.

[2] See note p. 234.

[3] [See Mr. H. A. Hill's chapter in Vol. IV., and the Mayor's Inaugural Address, *City Document* 2 of 1841.— Ed.]

at East Boston. Referring to the matter in his inaugural address at the beginning of the following year, the Mayor said it had already given to the city a commercial importance unknown to her before; and when considered in connection with the great internal improvement through this Commonwealth, so shortly to be completed, the most important results to our prosperity might justly be anticipated. The period of general depression in the various branches of industry and business seemed rapidly giving place to one of activity and success; and he thought he could say truly that in no period of the city's history had her prospects been so bright and cheering.[1]

During this year the Mayor incurred the enmity of the sellers of intoxicating liquors by temporarily increasing the police force for the purpose of prosecuting the violators of the law. There was a license law in operation at this time, which authorized the mayor and aldermen to grant as many licenses to retail spirituous liquors as in their opinion the public good might require. The Mayor was opposed to a license law, and in his address to the city government of 1842 he gave his views on the question at some length. It appears that he prosecuted the violators of the liquor law simply because they were law-breakers, and not because he expected in that way to cure the evils of intemperance. He objected to the license law because it created a monopoly, and because its enforcement necessitated the entering of a man's house or place of business for the purpose of procuring evidence. He said: —

"Let the licensing system be entirely done away, as wrong in principle and injurious in effect. Let the severest penalties be affixed to the keeping of disorderly houses. Demand of your police to keep the outside in order, — to see to it that the public peace is preserved, and the public proprieties in no way violated. But as to the use of spirituous liquors within, so long as it is peaceable and in order, leave that to individuals, and above all to the Washingtonians, who have grasped the subject in the right way."

During the year 1841 another revision of the city charter was made and submitted to the Legislature, but no action was taken by that body; and the Mayor in his address at the beginning of the following year urged a renewal of the application for additional legislation. The application was made, but the higher power "smiling put the question by."[2]

[1] The great internal improvement referred to was the Western Railroad, which was completed and opened to the Hudson River in 1841. The city government "noticed this joyous occasion" by visiting Albany, and receiving in return a visit from the officers of that city. [See the chapter on "The Canal and Railroad Enterprise of Boston," by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in Vol. IV., and Mr. Hamilton A. Hill's chapter on "The Trade, Commerce, and Navigation of Boston," in the same volume. — ED.]

[2] In the ordinary affairs of the city nothing of importance beyond what has been mentioned occurred during Mr. Chapman's three years of service; but it ought perhaps to be mentioned as something beyond the ordinary, that on Feb. 2, 1842, a public dinner was given to Mr. Charles Dickens, at which the Mayor made quite a notable little speech, full of the kind of wit that is appreciated on such occasions; and that on Nov. 24, 1841, the Mayor's wife danced with the Prince de Joinville, at a great ball in Faneuil Hall.

Martin Brimmer[1] was the next mayor of Boston. He was the Whig candidate, and was elected by a majority of two thousand and sixty-one votes over Bradford Sumner, the candidate of the "Loco-focos."

His address at the organization of the city government on Jan. 2, 1843, was devoted largely to the question, which had been agitated for some years, of building a new prison for the county of Suffolk. He pointed out the defects of the old jail in Leverett Street, and the difficulty of caring for its inmates in a manner suited to the requirements of the times. He had given considerable attention to the subject of prison discipline and construction, about which an active controversy was going on at that time; and he made some suggestions in his address which were acted upon when, at a later day, the new jail was constructed in Charles Street.

Mr. Brimmer was also deeply interested in the cause of public education, and was an ardent supporter of the new departure advocated by Horace Mann. During his mayoralty he gave much thought to the improvement and increase of the Boston schools. At that time the literature of education was scanty. A valuable work — *The School and the Schoolmaster*, by Alonzo Potter and George B. Emerson — had recently been published, and the Mayor had an edition of three thousand five hundred copies printed at his own expense, and sent a copy to each public school and school committee in the State.[2]

In his address to the city government of 1844 the Mayor sketched the rapid growth of the city during the preceding twenty-two years, for the purpose of impressing his associates with "the importance of enlarged views in relation to the improvements of the city, in extending and beautifying the streets and public places, in a careful attention to internal health and police, in an enlarged system of internal and external intercourse, in a liberal encouragement of charitable and literary institutions, in a far-sighted preparation for the moral, literary, and physical education of the rising generation."

The policy inaugurated by Mr. Chapman for a gradual reduction of the city debt was continued by Mr. Brimmer. The debt which amounted to $1,698,232, in 1840, was reduced under Mr. Chapman's administration to $1,594,700, and under Mr. Brimmer's to $1,423,800.

At the charter election, Dec. 9, 1844, several propositions in regard to procuring a supply of pure water for the inhabitants of Boston were submitted to a popular vote. The proposition to take the supply from Long Pond in Natick and Framingham, or from any of the sources adjacent thereto, as recommended by Colonel Baldwin, was adopted by a vote of six thousand two hundred and sixty yeas, to two thousand two hundred and four nays. The Mayor was thereupon instructed to apply to the Leg-

[1] Mr. Brimmer was born in 1793, and graduated at Harvard College in 1814. Although engaged in mercantile pursuits he was always interested in public affairs, and previous to his election as mayor had served one term in the board of aldermen, and one term as a representative in the Legislature.

[2] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education, Past and Present," in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

islature for the necessary authority; and the last important act of his administration was a compliance with this instruction.[1]

Mr. Brimmer having declined a re-election for a third term, there was a remarkable contest over the election of his successor. Thomas Aspinwall Davis was the candidate of a new political organization, called the Native American party; Josiah Quincy, Jr., was the candidate of the Whigs, and Adam W. Thaxter, Jr., was the Democratic candidate. On the first ballot Quincy received four thousand four hundred and sixty-four votes; Davis, three thousand nine hundred and eleven, and Thaxter, two thousand one hundred and seventy-three. There being no choice, Mr. Quincy withdrew, and Thomas Wetmore was put forward as the Whig candidate. He proved less popular than Mr. Quincy, and on the second ballot Davis led; but Colonel Charles G. Greene, who had been nominated as the Democratic candidate in place of Mr. Thaxter, received sufficient votes to prevent a choice. It was not until the eighth ballot was taken, on Feb. 21, 1845, that Mr. Davis received a bare majority, and was declared elected. His principal opponent on the last ballot was Mr. William Parker, a Whig, who had been chosen chairman of the new board of aldermen, and who acted as mayor until Mr. Davis was sworn in on February 27. Mr. Parker appears to have had some feeling over his defeat, as he immediately withdrew from the board of aldermen.

Mr. Davis's inaugural address, delivered on February 27, was devoted mainly to the subject of a water supply; but he could not forbear referring to the contest over his election, and saying a few words in defence of the party which had brought him forward. He said: —

"The numerous and exaggerated statements that have been freely circulated in reference to the objects and aims of the American Republican party, which has recently sprung into existence and is so rapidly increasing in many parts of the country, require a word upon this subject. It is not the object of the American party, by word or act, to engender unkind feelings between the native born and foreign born citizen. Its object is, by the establishment of general and salutary naturalization and registration laws, by educational and moral means, to place our free institutions upon such a basis that those who come after us, the descendants both of the foreign and the American citizen, may be free and independent."

On March 25 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the introduction of water from Long Pond; but the act was not to take effect unless accepted by a majority of the legal voters of the city. The question of its acceptance was voted on at special meetings held in the several wards on May 19, and it was rejected by a small vote; the principal cause of its rejection being the extraordinary powers given to the three water commis-

[1] [*History of the Introduction of Pure Water into the City of Boston*, by N. J. Bradlee, with a continuation from 1868 to 1876 by D. Fitzgerald, two vols., maps, and plans, Boston, 1868–1876. See also, on the matter specially referred to, *City Documents*, 1844. — Ed.]

sioners, who were, by the terms of the act, to be appointed as the agents of the city council.

On October 6, Mr. Davis having been ill for some time, and unable to perform the duties of his office, sent his resignation to the city council; but it was not accepted, and he continued to be the nominal head of the city government until November 22, when he died. He was a man of excellent character, but lacked the qualities essential to success in the administration of a public office.[1]

At the charter election on Dec. 8, 1845, there were three candidates for mayor: Josiah Quincy, Jr., nominated by the Whigs; John T. Heard, by the Democrats; and William S. Damrell, by the Native Americans. Mr. Quincy was elected by a handsome majority; and on the eleventh of the same month the city council elected him, as authorized in such cases by the city charter, to fill the office until the beginning of the next municipal year. During the interval between November 22 and December 11, Benson Leavitt, then chairman of the board of aldermen, acted as mayor.

Josiah Quincy, Jr.,[2] served in the office of mayor from Dec. 11, 1845, to the first Monday in January, 1849. He had a thorough knowledge of municipal affairs, and his administration was characterized by much of the energy and ability which distinguished his father's service of the city. In his inaugural address on Jan. 5, 1846, he dealt with the water question in a way to secure the hearty co-operation of his associates in the government. The time for deliberation, he said, had passed. The time for action had come. A competent and disinterested commission had decided that Long Pond was the source from which this blessing was to be derived, and the honor of beginning the important work had been conferred upon the present administration. He then proceeded to make a financial statement, from which it appeared that the cost of introducing water, estimated by the commissioners to be $2,651,643, was more than covered by the value of the city lands, estimated at that time to be worth $3,175,000. The funded city debt on Jan. 1, 1846, amounted to $1,085,200, showing a reduction of over $600,000 since 1840. This favorable exhibit of the city's financial condition had much to do with securing the approval of the citizens to the next act of the Legislature, authorizing the introduction of water. Ten days after the new government came in, the Mayor was authorized to petition for another act. It was granted, in the form desired, on March 30, and accepted by the citizens on April 13, the vote standing four thousand six hundred and thirty-seven in the affirmative, and only three hundred and forty-eight in the negative. On May 4, James F. Baldwin, Nathan Hale,

[1] His ancestors were among the earliest settlers of the town of Brookline, Mass., where he was born on Dec. 11, 1798. He was educated in the public schools, and at the time of his election as mayor was engaged in business as a jeweller.

[2] He was born in Boston, Jan. 17, 1802, and was educated at Phillips Academy and Harvard College. He was a member of the common council for four years (1833–37), and its president for three years. [His portrait is given in Mr. Adams's chapter in Vol. IV. — ED.]

and Thomas B. Curtis were chosen by the city council as commissioners under the act; and on August 20 the ceremony of breaking ground for the beginning of the work at the lake was performed by the Mayor, assisted by his father and the venerable John Quincy Adams. At the collation which followed, the Mayor called attention to the name by which the source of supply was generally known, and said the name Long Pond was like the name John Smith, without distinction. He suggested, therefore, that the Indian name "Cochituate" should be substituted, and the suggestion was immediately adopted.

On Oct. 25, 1848, in the last year of Mr. Quincy's mayoralty, there was another celebration, this time on Boston Common. The rising of the sun was saluted with a hundred guns, and by the ringing of all the church-bells. A great procession was formed, which marched through the streets and then to the Common, where an ode, written by Mr. James Russell Lowell, was sung by the school children, and addresses were made by the Mayor and by Mr. Nathan Hale, chairman of the water commission. After the citizens had been duly impressed with the importance of the blessing about to be bestowed on them, the Mayor inquired if it was their pleasure that water should then be introduced. There was a tremendous affirmative, and thereupon the gate was opened, and a column of water six inches in diameter rose to a height of eighty feet. What followed is thus described by the historian of the water works: —

> "After a moment of silence, shouts rent the air, the bells began to ring, cannon were fired, and rockets streamed across the sky. The scene was one of intense excitement which it is impossible to describe, but which no one can forget. In the evening there was a grand display of fireworks, and all the public buildings and many of the private houses were brilliantly illuminated."

The committee on finance, of which the Mayor was chairman, was authorized in 1846 to borrow money to the amount of $2,500,000, for carrying on the work; but they found great difficulty in negotiating a loan upon any reasonable terms. The leading European bankers who were consulted on the subject united in saying that the repudiation of some of the States had made it impossible to dispose of American bonds. During a part of 1847 the rate for money was two per cent a month, on the best paper. In April of that year it was decided to advertise for a loan of a million dollars. The city's financial condition was so well presented to capitalists, that the finance committee were enabled to place the whole amount at a little less than six per cent, a lower rate than was obtained by the United States.

During Mr. Quincy's first term the police force was reorganized. Francis Tukey, who occupies a large place in the traditions of the department, was appointed city marshal. He was a police officer of the French school, possessing great coolness and audacity, a thorough knowledge of the weaknesses of human nature, and an entire indifference as to the methods by which he accomplished his ends. On a larger field, and under a less dem-

ocratic form of government, he would havé been one of the noted civil officers of his time. He made himself the terror of evil-doers, and, it must be added, of some who were not evil-doers. As the law then stood, the city was obliged to maintain a night-watch, separate and distinct from the police force. The watch numbered at this time about one hundred and fifty men, and were under the control of a captain. They were in the habit of enveloping themselves in large coats, and, after a round or two at the beginning of their watch, retiring to the shelter of the watch boxes, which were then provided, and slumbering peacefully until relieved. Marshal Tukey's force consisted in the beginning of only twenty-two day men and eight night men, — the night men being a sort of detective force, and, under the lead of their dashing chief, doing more effective police service than the whole night-watch. This force was gradually increased to forty patrolmen for day duty, twenty patrolmen for night duty, and five regular detectives. In 1853 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the city council to unite the watch and police, and in the following year the union was effected.

Among other police regulations introduced during Mr. Quincy's term, was one requiring licensed places of amusement to abolish what was known as the "third row," — a place which for years had been set apart in all the theatres for the special accommodation of prostitutes. By the Mayor's casting vote, licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors were refused. "When I left the office," says Mr. Quincy, "there was no place where such liquors were openly sold. An attempt was made on this account to prevent my re-election for a third term, but after a most excited canvass I was rechosen."

In order to make good his statement as to the city's means for meeting its obligations, the Mayor urged upon the city council the importance of preparing the lands owned by the city for public sale. In 1847 he was authorized to contract for filling a portion of the marsh lands on the easterly side of the Neck, known as the South Bay; and under the contracts then made an extensive tract of land was graded, laid out in streets and lots, and made ready for the market.

The subject of providing a new jail for the county of Suffolk, to which reference has already been made, was discussed a good deal during the first two years of Mr. Quincy's administration; but the two branches of the city council were unable to agree upon any plan of action. In 1848 the city solicitor gave an opinion that the duty of providing a county jail was imposed by law upon the board of mayor and aldermen, who in this matter, as in some others, had the powers of county commissioners. The Board lost no time in exercising its authority. The project of erecting the jail in connection with the House of Correction at South Boston was abandoned; a large lot of land on the north-easterly corner of Cambridge and Charles streets was purchased, and before the Mayor retired from office he signed the contracts for the new building.

The reforms in our public school system which Horace Mann and George B. Emerson were advocating at this time received the cordial support of the Mayor. The "double-headed system," as it was called, under which a grammar master and a writing master exercised a divided authority over the schools, was abolished; women were more generally employed as teachers, and larger school buildings were erected.

At the municipal election on Dec. 11, 1848, John Prescott Bigelow,[1] the Whig candidate, was elected by a majority of two thousand four hundred and twenty-seven votes, although all shades of the opposition were represented in the four candidates who ran against him. He occupied the office for three terms, and performed its duties with marked ability and discretion.

In his inaugural address at the organization of the government in 1849, he dwelt particularly on the action of the mayor and aldermen of 1847 in refusing licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors. The attempt, he said, to suppress the traffic in that way had utterly failed. The number of drinking places had augmented to an extent never before witnessed, and there had been an appalling increase of intemperance and its attendant crimes. He therefore recommended that the license system be re-established, as, with all its defects, it produced better results than the prohibitory system. The Mayor's recommendation on this point was sustained by the grand jury of Suffolk County, who expressed the opinion that "the entire interdiction of the sale of ardent spirits, however beneficial its effects may be in small communities, is wholly inoperative for good in a great city." But the aldermen were unanimously opposed to the granting of licenses; and on a test case which came up in the board on March 3, 1849, the Mayor had not a solitary supporter. A majority of the members of the board were re-elected for the following year, and therefore the question was not taken up. In 1851 the increase of drunkenness and crime caused the aldermen to propound certain interrogatories to Marshal Tukey. In reply to the question, "How many places are there where intoxicating liquors are sold?" he stated that there were fifteen hundred such places; and in reply to the request "to furnish an opinion as to the best method of checking the increase of crime and the traffic in liquors," he contented himself with the simple statement, — "Execute the law." This novel proposition appears to have filled the aldermen with such astonishment that they were unable to do anything further that year. In 1852 a prohibitory liquor law was passed by the Legislature. Governor Boutwell, who first vetoed the bill and afterward approved it, said "it contained new principles of legislation and was of doubtful expediency." Before it went into effect the board of mayor and aldermen granted about five hundred innholders and victuallers licenses under the

[1] He was born in Groton, Mass., on Aug. 25, 1797, and was educated at Harvard College. His father was a well-known lawyer, and his grandfather, Colonel Timothy Bigelow, won an honorable reputation in the war of the Revolution. The new mayor had taken an active interest in City and State affairs, having served for seven successive terms in the common council (1827–33), and for the same length of time (1836–42) as Secretary of State.

provisions of the old law. A complaint was made by some of the prohibitionists against Moses Williams, who had received one of the licenses, with a view to testing the power of the board to grant it; but the court sustained the license.

Mr. Bigelow did not look with much favor on the plans of his predecessor for the erection of a new jail. He suggested that it might be found advisable to cancel the contracts, and alter the old building in Leverett Street. The aldermen decided, however, to proceed with the work, modifying the plans so as to make a considerable reduction in the expense. The building was completed in 1851, at an expense, including the site, of about $450,000.

The great expense involved in introducing and distributing water, and in raising the grade of the city's lands in the southerly section of the city justified the Mayor in criticising any further expenditures which would add to the city debt. He called attention for the first time to the fact that the high rate of taxation which these expenditures involved was inducing many of the largest owners of personal property to escape into the country at the annual period of taxation. The number of citizens who thus evade the payment of their proportion of the expense of providing for the public safety and convenience in the city where they reside during seven or eight months in the year, and where their business is protected during the whole year, has steadily increased since Mayor Bigelow's time. Several attempts have been made to check it by legislative enactments; but the decisions of the highest court, as to the right of a man to choose his domicil, have made the new legislation practically inoperative.

During the summer of 1849 Asiatic Cholera prevailed to an alarming extent; the death rate exceeded that of any previous year in the history of the city. With a population of about one hundred and thirty thousand, the number of deaths was five thousand and eighty; one-fifth of the number being caused by the epidemic.

The seventh national census, taken in 1850, gave the city a population of one hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, showing an increase of about sixty-two per cent during the preceding decade. The rapid growth of the city at this period was due to the opening of communication by rail with the West and by steamship with the East. The assessors' valuation of real and personal property within the city this year amounted to $180,000,500.[1] The tax levy was $1,237,000; and the rate of taxation was $6.80 on a thousand. The funded debt of the city on April 30, 1850, including water loans, was $6,195,144.35. In his address to the city government at the beginning of 1850 the Mayor said: "I have reason to believe that there is no other city in the world, certainly not in our country, the affairs of which in proportion to its size are administered at so great an expense as our own. The current annual expenditures of the

[1] For an explanation of the remarkable increase in the valuation between 1840 and 1850 see note to p. 234.

city of New York, with more than three times our population, do not more than double those of Boston."

Among the noteworthy events of this year in which the local government had an interest was the breaking up of a meeting in Faneuil Hall, called to congratulate George Thompson, then a member of Parliament, on his arrival in this country. Mr. Edmund Quincy presided. When Wendell Phillips attempted to speak there were cheers for Webster, for Jenny Lind, and for the Union, so loud and long continued that he was unable to proceed. Mr. Thompson undertook to read an address, but was obliged to give it up, and the meeting was declared adjourned. The persons who interrupted the proceedings were good-natured, but determined that neither Thompson nor his sympathizers should be heard. Marshal Tukey, who was present with a considerable police force, took no steps to check the disturbance; and Mr. Quincy subsequently lodged a complaint against him in the board of aldermen. At the hearing before a committee of the board he met the charges against him with the statement that he acted under the instructions of the mayor; and the committee so found, and exonerated him.

At the beginning of the year 1851 the Mayor was able to state that every section of the city was supplied with pure water. The whole cost of the water-works at that time amounted to $4,321,000. The aggregate length of streets, courts, and lanes through which main and distribution pipes had been laid was ninety-six miles; and the number of water-takers was thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty-three.

During the year 1851 the new almshouse on Deer Island was completed at a cost of about $150,000. The Mayor recommended that all the inmates of the House of Industry at South Boston should be removed to Deer Island; and his recommendation was subsequently carried out. The system of telegraphic fire alarms invented by Dr. William F. Channing was introduced this year; and although the old-fashioned engines were then in use, it was said to be hardly possible for a great fire to occur again. The first steam fire-engine was introduced into the department in 1854. It was long regarded as a failure, and the firemen found the English language quite insufficient to express the contempt they felt for it. But continued experiments led to improvements; and in 1860 the manual engines were banished to those rural districts where the stagecoach was still in use, the steam-engines took their place, and the character of the department was wholly changed. The new fireman is as unlike the old fireman as the crew of a modern steamship is unlike the crew of a sailing vessel of thirty years ago.

On April 2, 1851, the police arrested Thomas Sims, a fugitive slave, and locked him up under the Court House to await the decision of the United States authorities on a process for his rendition. The day-police, numbering at that time forty men, were armed with mariners' cutlasses, and drilled in anticipation of a disturbance; but as Sims was a disreputable fellow, the public sympathy was not actively enlisted in his favor, and on April 12, at

four o'clock in the morning, he was marched down State Street under a police guard, and placed without opposition on board a vessel bound for Savannah. Mr. Charles Devens, Jr., then United States Marshal, applied to the mayor and aldermen for a detail of police officers to aid in transporting Sims back to the State from which he had escaped; but the application was refused on the ground that the city needed all its officers for home duty.[1]

The board of aldermen of this year gained a sort of flickering notoriety by refusing the use of Faneuil Hall for a reception in honor of Daniel Webster. The ground of the refusal was that a similar application from the Abolitionists had been denied for fear of a disturbance. The intense indignation of Mr. Webster's friends can easily be imagined. On the day following their refusal another meeting of the mayor and aldermen was held, and a motion made to reconsider the action. The mayor and three aldermen voted to reconsider, and four aldermen voted in the negative. Mr. Moses Kimball, a member of the board, declined to vote, and there being a tie, the motion to reconsider did not prevail. At a meeting of the common council held a day or two afterward an order was passed appointing a joint committee "to tender Honorable Daniel Webster, in the name of the city council of Boston, an invitation to meet and address his fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall at such time as he shall elect." The mayor and aldermen then met, and after passing a resolution asserting their own dignity and independence, concurred unanimously in the action of the common council. When the committee waited upon Mr. Webster at the Revere House and humbly asked him to signify his pleasure in the matter, he treated them very coldly, and said he would give his answer in writing. The answer was a curt one: "It will not be convenient for me to accept the invitation." When election day came the mayor and aldermen found that political preferment was not to be obtained through snubbing Mr. Webster. They were, all and singular, remanded to private life, and there they mostly remained. In the following year, on an invitation from a new and revised city council, Mr. Webster addressed his fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall, "the doors on golden hinges turning," — as Mr. Choate said.

The completion of the railroad lines connecting the city with the Canadas and the great lakes was celebrated in September of this year. The official report published by the city says: "However extensive and brilliant may have been the public pageants on other occasions, not one, it is believed, has on this continent surpassed, if any have equalled, that of September 17, 18, and 19." On the first day the President of the United States, accompanied by the members of his cabinet, arrived and were received by the city and State authorities; and there was a military review on the Common. On the second day there was an excursion down the harbor in the morning; in the afternoon, Lord Elgin, Captain General and Governor-in-chief of the British Possessions in North America, arrived with his suite, and was formally received by the Mayor; and in the evening there was a grand military ball in

[1] [See the chapter on "The Antislavery Movement." — ED.]

Union Hall. On the third day there was a procession, followed by a dinner on the Common, at which three thousand six hundred persons sat down; and in the evening, fireworks and illuminations. Altogether it was a very brilliant affair, and the Mayor did the honors of the city very handsomely.[1]

At the charter election on Dec. 8, 1851, there were four candidates for the mayoralty. John H. Wilkins received a plurality of votes, but not a majority; and a new election was held on December 24, at which Benjamin Seaver,[2] the Whig candidate, was elected, receiving only one vote more than the united votes of his opponents. Mr. Seaver held the office for two terms. A service of five years (1845–49) in the common council had given him a knowledge of city affairs which, with his business training and his executive ability, made him an excellent chief magistrate. It was said that he owed his first election to the police; and it is undoubtedly true that Marshal Tukey directed his men to work for Mr. Seaver; but if the marshal looked for special favor on account of his political support, he had a very imperfect knowledge of the character of the man whom he had assisted to office. The law then in force required the annual appointment of police officers; and when the Mayor came to make his appointments for the year he made some changes which the marshal criticised rather freely. Mr. Seaver was not a man to be criticised with impunity by a subordinate. He lost no time in putting another man at the head of the police force, and Marshal Tukey ceased to be a terror to anybody.

The new mayor looked upon the office to which he had been elected as essentially a business office, and he applied business principles to his administration of it. During the preceding six years the city had been engaged in works which had added largely to the city debt. Those works had been substantially completed, and the Mayor felt that it was time to pause and husband the city's resources for a while before entering on any new enterprises. That the record of his administration does not occupy so large a space as that of some others is an evidence of the Mayor's firmness in resisting the temptation to make a name at the expense of the city. The most important act of his administration was the vote to erect a building for the Public Library; but the story of that institution's inception and progress is to be told elsewhere.[3]

On the recommendation of the Mayor a board of land commissioners was established in 1853, to take the place of a joint committee of the city council which had been found unequal to the duties imposed upon it; and burials within the city limits, except in particular cases, were prohibited after the first of July, 1853.

Henry J. Gardner, afterward Governor of the Commonwealth, was president of the common council during Mr. Seaver's two terms; and on retir-

[1] [See the chapter on "Canals and Railroads," in Vol. IV. — ED.]

[2] He was born in Roxbury, April 12, 1795; educated at the Roxbury Grammar School; and at the time of his election was engaged in business as an auctioneer.

[3] [In Vol. IV., by the Editor of the present work. — ED.]

ing from the chair on Dec. 29, 1853, he delivered an address in which he gave prominence to the question of revising the city charter. He pointed out so clearly and forcibly the changes which an experience of thirty years had shown to be necessary, that the city council of the following year applied to the Legislature for a new act of incorporation which was granted on April 29, 1854.

At the municipal election on Dec. 12, 1853, there were three candidates for mayor: Benjamin Seaver, the nominee of the Whigs; Jerome Van Crowninshield Smith,[1] the nominee of the Native American party; and Jacob Sleeper, the nominee of the Temperance men. Mr. Seaver received the highest number of votes, but not a majority; and on the third ballot, taken Jan. 9, 1854, Dr. Smith was elected. During the interval beween the first Monday in January and the date at which the new mayor was sworn in (the sixteenth of that month) Mr. Benjamin L. Allen, the chairman of the board of aldermen, acted as mayor.

The new mayor was a most indefatigable worker, and seemed to have an ambition to leave some enduring memento in every department of science, art, literature, and politics. Without undertaking to pass upon his achievements in the more retired walks of life, it may be said that as a man of affairs he was not entirely successful. He made a great many suggestions for the improvement of the city government, but fortunately for the city's credit few of them were carried out. He thought the police appointments would be improved if twelve men were elected by popular vote, one from each ward, with power to appoint all police officers, subject to the approval of the mayor and aldermen. He recommended the sale of Quincy Market to private individuals; the erection of an insane asylum at Deer Island; the erection of a tall tower on Beacon Hill, for the use of the fire telegraph and fire department offices; the forced sale of city lands in order to promote the erection of buildings; the appointment of a physician in every ward to be paid by the city for serving the poor. He was never taken quite seriously as a chief magistrate.

In 1853 an act had been passed authorizing the city council to unite, by ordinance, the watch and police departments; but no action was taken until the following year. On May 26, 1854, the old watch, which had been in

[1] Dr. Smith was born in Conway, New Hampshire, on July 20, 1800; graduated at Brown University in 1818, and subsequently took the degree of *Medicinæ Doctor* at Williams College. He served in the office of city physician for a number of years, and in that way became familiar with city affairs. Like the famous Whittington, he had a sort of premonition of his coming greatness. The day on which he came to Boston to seek his fortune happened to be the very day when the first mayor of the city was sworn into office. Seeing a large number of people moving in one direction he asked the cause, and was told that a *mare* was to be inaugurated in Faneuil Hall. Finding that the exhibition could be enjoyed without expense, he joined the moving throng, and was presently looking down from a quiet corner in the gallery upon what appeared to be a religious ceremony. He awaited in breathless expectation the advent of the animal whose name was in everybody's mouth; and it was not until after the ceremony was concluded that he could be made to understand the significance of what he had witnessed. He had a presentiment that he should some day be the central figure of such an exhibition, and he shaped his career accordingly.

existence as a department of the town and city government since 1631, was abolished, and a police department was established, consisting of two hundred and fifty men under the charge of a chief of police, two deputies, and eight captains of divisions. The form of organization adopted at this time was not materially changed until 1878, when the department was placed under a commission appointed by the mayor. By an ordinance passed in 1863, the system of annual appointments was changed to appointments during good behavior.

On the very day that the new police force entered upon its duties it was called upon, at a moment's notice, to suppress a riot in Court Square, caused by the attempt to release Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave, who had been arrested by United States officers and confined temporarily in the city prison. For nine days, while the hearing on the question of Burns's rendition was going on, the city was in a fever of excitement. The efforts of the city authorities were directed solely to the preservation of order, and the execution of the mandates of the court.[1]

On November 15 of this year the inhabitants voted to accept the revised city charter. It went into effect for the purpose of electing municipal officers on the second Monday in December, and for all other purposes on the first Monday in January following. The principal changes introduced by the new charter may be briefly summarized as follows: the persons having the highest number of votes at municipal elections were to be declared elected; the mayor was deprived of his vote on matters coming before the board of aldermen, and was given a qualified right to veto all acts of the city council, and all acts of either branch where an expenditure of money was involved; the board of aldermen was enlarged from eight to twelve members, and all the executive powers of the corporation, formerly vested in the selectmen of the town and in the board of mayor and aldermen of the city, were transferred to it; the mayor, when present at meetings of the board, had the right to preside; the school committee, which had consisted of the mayor, the president of the council, and two persons elected annually from each ward, was enlarged by the election of six persons from each ward, two being elected annually.

It was not the intention of those who drafted the new charter to curtail the mayor's powers, but their work had that effect. Following the precedent established by the elder Quincy, it had been customary for the mayor

[1] Burns was taken into custody on the evening of May 24, 1854, and on the following day taken before Edward Greely Loring, who was a United States commissioner, and who also held the office of judge of probate for Suffolk County. On the evening of May 26, a great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall to protest against the outrage on liberty. George R. Russell presided. While Wendell Phillips was speaking, a person entered the hall and announced that a mob of negroes was in Court Square attempting to rescue Burns. The meeting immediately dissolved, and the persons composing it flocked to the Court House and attempted to break down the doors. One constable was killed and several persons were seriously wounded. Burns was finally remanded to slavery; but subsequently he was bought by some Northern people and sent to Canada, where he died in 1862. Edward G. Loring was removed from the office of judge of probate, and was then appointed by the President judge of the court of claims at Washington. [See the chapter on "The Antislavery Movement" in this volume. — ED.]

to act as chairman of all the most important committees of the city council; and as the chief executive officer of the corporation, and as a member and chairman of the board which had not only succeeded to all the executive powers formerly exercised by the selectmen of the town, but which had equal powers with the common council as a legislative body, he was in a position to exercise a powerful influence upon the management of city affairs. Under the new charter, the mayor continued to have the power of appointing police officers, but his appointments were subject to approval by the aldermen, and the administration of the police department was placed entirely in the hands of the aldermen. That board also had control of the fire department, the health department, the markets, the streets, the county buildings and the granting of licenses for various purposes; and where their action did not involve an expenditure of money the mayor had no power to pass upon it.

There has been no general revision of the city charter since 1854. Numerous changes have been made, both directly and indirectly, by subsequent legislation, the most important of which will be pointed out further on; but the mayor's power, although somewhat increased, is still far from being what is necessary to secure a responsible and an efficient executive.

At the charter election in December, 1855, Alexander Hamilton Rice,[1] the "Citizens'" candidate, was chosen mayor for the ensuing year. The Native American, or "Know-Nothing" party, as it had come to be called, had fallen into disrepute, and its candidate, Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, failed of an election by some two thousand votes. Mr. Rice possessed most of the qualifications by which an enduring success in public life is achieved, — a pleasing address, a knowledge of men and affairs, more than ordinary readiness and ability as a public speaker, and a keen sense of the popular wishes. During the two years that he served in the office of mayor the affairs of the city were managed with prudence and economy. In his first address to the city council he announced as the guiding principle of his administration the improvement of the institutions and means already possessed by the city, and the avoidance of new and dazzling enterprises which, however promising, might prove in the end to be only costly experiments.

The most important act of the government during Mr. Rice's first term was an agreement on the part of the city with the Commonwealth and the Boston Water-Power Company, by which provision was made for the improvement of the territory now known as the Back Bay. It should be stated that previous to the year 1827 the city held the fee in about one hundred acres of flats in this locality. In that year it ceded to the Boston Water-Power Company its title to these flats in consideration of the right to dis-

[1] Mr. Rice was born in Newton, Mass., on Aug. 30, 1818, and received his education in the public and private schools of the neighborhood, and in Union College at Schenectady. On leaving school he sought employment in Boston, and at the time of his election was the leading member of a firm engaged in the manufacture of paper. He had served as a member of the school committee and the common council, having been president of the latter body in 1854.

charge the drainage from the adjoining territory into the Back Bay basin. It was provided in the agreement made at that time that the water in this basin should be kept at a certain specified depression below high-water mark. This led to the erection of buildings on the surrounding territory at a grade fixed with reference to the drainage into a bay several feet below high-water mark, and presently the accumulation of sewage matter caused a nuisance from which the city has not yet ceased to suffer. In assenting to this arrangement with the Water-Power Company, it must be said that Mr. Quincy did not show his accustomed foresight. The exercise of the right which the city had acquired created a nuisance which made the right valueless. The new agreement entered into on Dec. 11, 1856, provided, among other things, for the construction of a large sewer from Camden Street, through lands of the Water-Power Company and the Commonwealth, to Charles River. This tripartite agreement, although forming the basis of the great improvement on the Back Bay, was never fully carried out; and in 1864 a new agreement was entered into, establishing a more complete system of streets and sewers for this territory.

The management of the public institutions of the city, including under that head the House of Correction, the Houses of Industry and Reformation, and the Lunatic Hospital, was at this time in the hands of three distinct boards, which were not always in harmony on questions affecting the city's interests. Mr. Rice recommended that all these institutions should be placed under the government of one board elected for different periods of service, and composed in part of members of the city council and in part of persons chosen from the citizens at large. In 1857 the Legislature passed an act establishing such a board, and providing for the election of its members by concurrent vote of the city council. The board is still in existence, and has fully answered the purpose for which it was organized.

In 1857 the Mayor recommended the establishment of a city hospital, transmitting to the city council at the same time a memorial from several leading physicians, giving their opinion of the necessity and value of such an institution. In the following year an act was passed by the Legislature authorizing the city to establish and maintain "a hospital for the reception of persons who, by misfortune or poverty, may require relief during temporary sickness." Elisha Goodnow, who died in 1851, had bequeathed to the city twenty-five thousand dollars for a local hospital, provided it was established either at the South End or South Boston; but no definite action was taken until 1860, when a site was selected at the South End on land reclaimed from the sea, and a hospital building was erected thereon and opened in 1864.

On Dec. 14, 1857, Frederic Walker Lincoln, Jr.,[1] was chosen mayor for the following year. He was known as the Faneuil-Hall candidate, having

[1] Mr. Lincoln was a descendant of Samuel Lincoln, who settled in Hingham as early as 1637. He was born in Boston Feb. 27, 1817, and received his education in the public and private

been nominated by representatives of different parties who held a convention for that purpose in Faneuil Hall. Charles B. Hall, his opponent, was also put forward as a Citizens' candidate, but was badly beaten, Mr. Lincoln receiving a majority of nearly four thousand votes.

As an administrative officer Mr. Lincoln was eminently successful. That he won the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens to an unusual degree is shown by the fact that, without any effort on his part, he held the office of mayor for a longer time than any individual who preceded him or who has succeeded him.

The first year of his administration was not marked by any measures of special importance, unless the uniforming of the police may be so regarded. That was an act of great local interest, and the policemen and their friends said a good deal about copying the customs of the Old World, and turning free Americans into liveried servants. But the citizens who had often searched in vain for a policeman in citizen's dress looked favorably upon a change which would enable them to know an officer when they saw him.

In 1859 an act was passed by the Legislature, to take effect when accepted by the citizens of Boston, annexing to the city a considerable tract of land and flats on the Back Bay, formerly included within the city of Roxbury; and providing that no buildings should be erected between Arlington Street and Charles Street. The act was accepted by an almost unanimous vote of the citizens on April 26, 1859, and a plan was soon after adopted for the improvement of the Public Garden. An attempt was made by several public-spirited individuals to preserve the Back Bay as an open space for sanitary purposes, and to that end a number of elaborate plans were submitted to the State and city authorities; [1] but the General Court saw an opportunity to put some money into the State treasury by cutting the territory into house lots, and greed carried the day.

In 1859 Mr. Lincoln was successful in securing the co-operation of the United States authorities in the preservation of Boston Harbor. It appeared from the testimony of the old pilots that the water was shoaling in many places in the harbor, owing to the encroachments upon the headlands and islands. In a special message to the city council, the Mayor recommended the appointment of a commission of United States officers to make a scientific examination of the subject. The recommendation was approved, and the Mayor went to Washington and saw the heads of the Treasury, War, and Navy departments, — Cobb, Floyd, and Toucey, — three men who occupy a bad eminence among American cabinet officers. They were extremely gracious to the representative of Boston, and immediately complied with his request to detail General Totten, chief of the engineer corps, Pro-

schools. When only thirteen years of age he was apprenticed to a maker of mathematical instruments, and at the time of his election to the mayoralty he had risen to a prominent position among the business men of the city. He had served two terms as a member of the lower branch of the State Legislature (1847–48), and had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1853.

[1] [One is given in the folio edition of Drake's *Boston*. See also *Documents of the Massachusetts Senate, No.* 186, 1859. — Ed.]

fessor Bache, superintendent of the coast survey, and Commander Davis of the Navy, to make the proposed examination. During the seven years following, the commissioners made ten reports, which have been of immense value in securing appropriations from the National Government for the improvement of the harbor, and in preventing by wise legislation any further encroachments upon the ship-channels.[1]

The national census of 1860 gave the city a population of 177,992. The valuation of real and personal property for purposes of taxation amounted to $276,861,000. The amount of tax raised for State, county, and city purposes was $2,530,000; and the rate was $8.99 on the $1,000. The funded city debt amounted to $8,491,599.

In the latter part of this year another collision occurred between the Abolitionists and those who were opposed to the Antislavery agitation. Through the instrumentality of some rather obscure individuals a meeting was called in Tremont Temple, on December 3, to commemorate the anniversary of the execution of John Brown, and to consider the question, How can American Slavery be abolished? The election of a Republican President, and the threatening attitude assumed by the South, had the effect of making a good many men, especially those whose business interests would be endangered by any disturbance of the established order of things, deprecate any expressions in this section of the country which would appear to identify the Republican party with the supporters of John Brown; but in undertaking forcibly to prevent such expressions they only scattered the coals and propagated the fire. The promoters of this meeting, having hired the hall for a legal purpose, had a right to be protected in its use; but the city authorities did not protect them. A large number of persons opposed to the objects of the meeting quietly entered the hall as soon as the doors were open, elected their own chairman and secretary, and adopted a series of resolutions, in which John Brown and all "aiders and abettors in his nefarious enterprise" were heartily denounced; and it was declared that the people of this city "had submitted too long in allowing irresponsible persons and political demagogues of every description to hold public meetings to disturb the public peace and misrepresent us abroad." "They have become a nuisance," the resolutions said, "which in self-defence we are determined shall henceforward be summarily abated." In the midst of the confusion consequent upon these proceedings the chief of police entered the hall accompanied by several trustees of the building, and stated that he had orders from the Mayor to dismiss the meeting and to clear the hall; which he proceeded to do. In the evening the Antislavery people held a meeting in a small church for colored people at the West End, and although riotous demonstrations were made in the streets, the police force was sufficient to preserve order. It was known that the Mayor had taken the precaution to have two companies of cavalry under arms at

[1] For further details in regard to the measures taken for the preservation of the harbor, see the chapter on "Boston Harbor" in Vol. IV.; also City Documents, 1859–66.

their armories to act in case of emergency. On the following morning the *Advertiser* said: —

"The cry of 'free speech,' which will no doubt be set up on behalf of those who yesterday saw their meeting taken out of their hands, can find little support among unprejudiced observers. . . . Sensitive as the chord is which any appeal for free speech touches, it will hardly vibrate in response to the appeals of those who claim that glorious privilege only to abuse it; and what abuse of it could be more flagrant or more deserve condemnation than to use it simply as the means of adding to a great national excitement the peril of misleading one section of the country as to the sentiment which pervades the other, and embittering still further that controversy which now divides the States of the Union."

This may be taken as a fair expression of the sentiments of moderate Republicans of that day.

In the charter election of December, 1860, political feeling ran very high. Joseph Milner Wightman[1] was the candidate of both wings of the Democratic party and of the Old Line Whigs. Moses Kimball was the Republican candidate. The Webster Whigs were still a power in Boston, both socially and politically, and they threw the whole weight of their influence against Mr. Kimball on account of his action as a member of the board of aldermen that refused the use of Faneuil Hall in 1851 for the Webster reception. Mr. Wightman, who had formerly acted with the Whig party, but who had been carried into the Democratic ranks by the Antislavery agitation, was elected by a majority of over three thousand votes.

As an executive officer Mr. Wightman was not wanting in energy or in honesty of purpose; but he lacked dignity and discretion. His administration fell upon an important period in our municipal history. The extraordinary demands upon the city authorities, growing out of the war, enlarged the powers and duties of the mayoralty to an unprecedented extent, and raised many questions new to municipal legislation. It required a man of much more than ordinary ability to manage the affairs of the city at such a time to the satisfaction of a community which had been favored with chief magistrates who were generally dignified and sometimes wise. But while Mr. Wightman was not a man of more than ordinary ability, he possessed a good deal of energy and enthusiasm, and it was a time when energy and

[1] He was born in Boston on Oct. 19, 1812, and was the son of English parents. At the early age of ten he had been obliged, by the death of his father, to leave school and become apprenticed to a machinist. While serving out the terms of his indenture he eagerly availed himself of every opportunity to acquire a knowledge of mathematics, geometry, natural philosophy, and mechanical engineering; and soon after coming of age he went into business as a manufacturer of philosophical apparatus. The discussion of the question concerning the introduction of water into the city first led him to take an interest in local affairs. He was extremely active in promoting the scheme which was finally carried out, and from that time forth he has had a conspicuous part in municipal politics. He was a prominent member of the school committee for ten years (1845–55), and a member of the board of aldermen from April, 1856, when he was elected to fill a vacancy, to January, 1859. In both these positions he performed services which have been of permanent value to the city.

enthusiasm were wanted. He was put into the office by those who had been opposed to the election of a Republican President, but no one ever had occasion to charge him with lukewarmness in responding to the demands of the national administration for means to put down the Rebellion.

The Antislavery agitators, who were indignant over the failure of a Republican mayor fully to protect their freedom of speech, looked with considerable alarm upon the accession to power of a Democrat who might be inclined to shut them up altogether; and it seemed to them that the time had arrived to call in country Republicanism, which was of a more radical type than city Republicanism, to redress the balance. On Jan. 21, 1861, an order was introduced into the State Senate for the appointment of a joint special committee to consider the expediency of amending the charter of Boston so that its police should be appointed by the authorities of the State. While the order was under consideration, on January 24, the Antislavery Society held its annual meeting in Tremont Temple. The galleries and the rear of the hall were filled with persons who interrupted the proceedings by hisses and groans. The Mayor was called upon by the officers of the meeting to suppress the disturbance. He sent thirty policemen, but they made no serious effort to preserve order. Finally, on the written request of the trustees of the building, who feared injury to their property, the Mayor went to the meeting, accompanied by the chief of police, and under his instructions the galleries were cleared and order restored. As soon as he withdrew the disturbance was renewed, and the meeting was then adjourned until evening, with a view to having the admission to the hall regulated by tickets. Some of the disturbers announced their determination to remain in the building until the evening meeting was held; and the Mayor, being apprehensive of a riot, instructed the chief of police to clear the hall, close the doors, and prevent any meeting from being held in the evening. There was no such riotous spirit abroad as would justify such an arbitrary measure. The police might have preserved order if they had been properly instructed so to do by their superiors. After such an affair the proposition to place the control of the city police in the hands of the State authorities was favored by a good many persons who had no love for the Abolitionists. A committee of the General Court was appointed, and a great deal of testimony was taken in regard to the condition of the police force and the improper influences to which it was subjected by the mayor and aldermen; but although a precedent for the action proposed had been established by the New York Legislature, and had thus far worked well, the sentiment in favor of local self-government was too strong to be overcome even by the fervid rhetoric of the Antislavery leaders, and it was decided to let Boston manage her own affairs until her incapacity for so doing had been more fully demonstrated. The question was brought up several times in after years, but always with the same result.

Soon after the war broke out, the city was called upon to appropriate money for a variety of purposes not authorized by existing laws. To have

refused to appropriate the money on the ground of a want of authority would have seriously impeded the work of furnishing men and supplies for the army. It is to the credit of the city authorities, and especially of the Mayor, that they did not hesitate to take the responsibility of using the city's money to do whatever was necessary to minister to the comfort of the soldiers and of the soldiers' families. Many persons who received commissions to organize military companies had no means to provide quarters or subsistence for their recruits, and the Governor had no power at that time to establish camps where the volunteers might be maintained, drilled, and disciplined at the expense of the State. The city provided recruiting stations and paid for the subsistence of the men until they were mustered into the service of the United States. Uniforms and other clothing were also provided for the Boston volunteers; and regiments from other States, and from other portions of this State, passing through the city to the seat of war, were welcomed and refreshed on the Common or in Faneuil Hall. For these purposes about one hundred thousand dollars were expended from the city treasury during the year 1861. Among other measures instituted by the city council of 1861 for the benefit of the volunteers and their families was one which involved only a trifling expense to the city, but which was of incalculable value to the persons concerned. Arrangements were made by which the commanders of companies or regiments were enabled with little trouble to collect a portion of the money which their men received from the government paymaster and transmit it, without expense, to the mayor, to be deposited by him in a savings-bank, or paid to such persons as the soldier might designate. A very large amount of money was transmitted in this way, and many poor families had occasion to bless the Mayor for saving them from the necessity of receiving aid in a form which made them feel that they were objects of charity. In the following year the benefit of this system of allotments was extended by an act of the Legislature to the families of all the Massachusetts volunteers, the money being transmitted to the State treasurer, and by him distributed to the several city and town treasurers; but some of the Boston regiments continued to send their money directly to the Mayor until the close of the war, as it reached its destination more quickly in that way.

In his address to the city government at the beginning of 1862, the Mayor strongly recommended the erection of a new city hall. The subject had been before the city council many times during the preceding twelve years, but the two branches had not been able to agree either upon a site or upon the plans for a building. Although there was strong opposition to entering upon any new enterprises while the resources of the people were being so heavily taxed to maintain the national government, a majority of the city council this year voted to build a new hall on the site of the old one, at an estimated expense of $160,000, and the corner-stone was laid on Dec. 22, 1862.

The requisitions made in July of this year for men to serve in the army created almost a panic and led to the offer of heavy local bounties for volunteers. The city began by paying a bounty of one hundred dollars for men credited to its quota; and afterward, in order to compete with other municipalities which were offering much larger amounts, the payment was increased to two hundred dollars. The city was able to meet the demands made upon it without resorting to a draft; but by the end of the year nearly a million dollars had been expended in premiums for volunteers.

The election of December, 1862, resulted in the defeat of Mr. Wightman, and the reinstatement of Mr. Frederic W. Lincoln in the mayor's office.

The expenditures for war purposes during the years 1861 and 1862, although illegal and often extravagant, were never called in question by the people; but what they did question was the expediency of erecting public buildings, widening and extending streets, and spending the city's money on other works which, in view of the tremendous crisis through which the country was passing, might well be postponed. The expenditures for what is known as "city junketing" began to assume rather formidable proportions about this time, and to excite the comments of the taxpayers. Junketing is not a modern vice. It has been the custom from the earliest times for the city magistrates to have occasional feasts — or, as Washington Irving calls them, gormandizings — at the public expense; and so the name of alderman, originally used to designate the elderman, — the man of the highest wisdom and experience in the Teutonic community, — has come to be applied to the man of

> "Fair round belly, with good capon lined."

But while the ancient alderman was satisfied with an occasional feast, his modern prototype seems filled with the desire to feast all the time; and the question as to the extent to which this desire should be gratified has frequently entered into the municipal elections in this city, and has sometimes determined the choice of a chief magistrate.

Mr. Lincoln was elected to bring the city government back to a more careful expenditure of the public money; and so well satisfied were the people with his efforts in that direction, that they continued him in office through four successive terms.

During the latter part of the year 1862 the cities and towns of the Commonwealth had engaged in a ruinous competition for men to fill their several quotas under the calls of the President for additional troops. The raising of money by taxation for the purpose of paying bounties was illegal, and might have been stopped at any time on the application of ten taxpayers to the highest court of the Commonwealth; but the local authorities were sustained by the great body of the people in almost any measure that was likely to avert a draft; and no man was willing, or rather no

man dared, to throw any obstacles in the way of procuring volunteers for the army. When the Legislature met in January, 1863, the Governor recommended that bounties should be equalized and assumed by the State, to be paid by a tax on the property and polls of all the people. An act was accordingly passed forbidding towns and cities from raising or expending money for the purpose of offering or paying bounties to volunteers under future calls of the President, and a State bounty of fifty dollars was offered in lieu of all local bounties. In the summer of 1863, the city having failed to meet the requisitions for men by voluntary enlistments, it was found necessary to resort to a draft. On the afternoon of July 14 two assistant provost marshals were serving notices upon the men who had been drafted for military service, and who lived in rather a disreputable quarter at the North End of the city, when they were suddenly assaulted by a woman whose husband was numbered among the conscripts. The cries of this infuriated woman acted like a preconcerted signal upon the people in the neighborhood. In an instant the narrow, crooked streets in the vicinity of the great manufactory of the Boston Gas-Light Company were filled with a mob of which women were the leaders, — the most frightful of all mobs. The marshals fled for their lives, and the local patrolmen, coming to their rescue, were set upon and beaten nearly to death. One gallant officer, a man of noble physique and of undaunted courage, attempted to make head against the terrible throng, but he was borne down, trampled upon, and maimed for life. The police rolls of the city still bear his name; and although he has never been able to do another day's service, no taxpayer grudges him the continued compensation of an active officer.

In a short time the whole North End of the city was in a state of revolt. The police of the First Division retreated into their station, which was threatened with assault. Then the city authorities saw that they had serious work on hand. For two days previous a portion of the city of New York had been under the control of a mob; and although there had been some indications of a disposition in this city to resist the enforcement of the draft, it was not believed that there would be any concerted resistance. It appeared afterwards that quite a formidable organization to resist the laws had been partially formed; but the leaders in that organization were probably as much taken by surprise at the sudden outbreak on the afternoon of the fourteenth as were the city authorities. Having taken possession of the streets at the North End, and surrounded the police station, the mob paused and awaited the next move of the city authorities. The composition of the mob was changed in the mean time. The men came from their work in the gas-house and elsewhere and took the places of the women. They purposed to test the question whether the Government had a right to drag them from their homes to fight in a cause in which they did not believe. The news of the great uprising in New York had been circulated among them, and its temporary success greatly stimulated their determination to resist. "I'd rather fight here, where I can go home to dinner," said one, "than in

the Southern swamps, where they don't have regular meals." But as a whole the assemblage was not a humorous one: it was taciturn, and took rather a serious view of the situation.

The Mayor was first informed of the disturbance by the marshal whose assistants had been mobbed. He was soon satisfied from the police reports which followed that extraordinary measures must be taken to preserve the peace. He acted with great promptness and resolution. There were only three local militia organizations in the city at that time: the independent company of Cadets (the prescriptive body-guard of the Governor), a battalion of cavalry, and a battery of light artillery. To these the Mayor issued his precepts, as authorized by the laws of the State, directing them to report to him forthwith, armed and equipped for service. This force was strengthened by several military organizations then in camp at Readville, preparing for service in the field, and by detachments from the heavy artillery and infantry companies on duty at the forts in the harbor. The Cooper-Street Armory, occupied by a light battery, was situated in the very midst of the riotous populace. The members of the local company had assembled quietly in the armory during the afternoon, without attracting much attention. It was about seven o'clock in the evening when a company of United States artillery from Fort Warren marched down into the disturbed quarter to join the local battery. It was hooted and hissed while on the way, but was allowed to enter the armory without serious opposition. Then the mob closed in around the building in a dense mass, and began to break the windows. A lieutenant of the light battery, who attempted to pass through the crowd, was beaten and trampled upon. The men sent out to rescue him could regain the armory only by firing and using their bayonets. Then the building was assaulted in earnest; the brick sidewalks and cobble-stone pavements were torn up and hurled against the doors. A citizen standing at one of the windows inside the armory was killed by a pistol-shot. Just as the mob was about to effect an entrance through the front doors, which they had partially battered down, a loaded cannon was fired from within. Its charge tore through the mass and demolished a part of the opposite house-front. There was a moment's pause, and then the attack was renewed; but the firing of the infantry from the windows and doors dampened the ardor of the assailants, and a diversion was presently created by the proposition to sack Reed's gun-store, in Dock Square. In the mean time, the other militia organizations had been brought together, and were about to march to the Cooper-Street Armory, with the Mayor at their head, when word was received of the movement in the direction of Dock Square. A plan of the Square as it existed at that time, with the great number of narrow streets and lanes radiating from it, bears a very close resemblance to the centre of a spider's web. If the rioters had obtained arms from the numerous gun-shops in the neighborhood, and established themselves in this spot, they might, with intelligent leaders, have held the approaches against a greatly superior force; but as they came pouring in from the North End,

they were met by an advance guard of policemen, who held them in check until the Mayor with his military force came up and effectually dispersed them. One gun-store was broken into and a considerable quantity of arms taken; but the men who took them were scattered before they could make use of their weapons.

That was the end of the famous draft-riot in Boston. The whiff of grape-shot at the Cooper-Street Armory and the repulse at Dock Square disheartened the rioters. Those who had been drafted concluded that it would be less hazardous to fight the Southern rebels than to fight Mayor Lincoln. There were some slight disturbances in different sections of the city during the succeeding twenty-four hours, and a considerable portion of the military force was kept on duty for several days; but the spirit of the mob had been effectually crushed before midnight of the fourteenth. The number of rioters killed is unknown, as the bodies were in most cases conveyed away secretly and buried without any official permit.

There was no further attempt to obstruct the operation of the Conscription Act. Of the twenty-six thousand one hundred and nineteen [1] men furnished by Boston for service in the army and navy, it appears that only seven hundred and thirteen were drafted. In the year 1864 the city obtained, through an act of Congress, credit for a large number of men who had enlisted in the navy since the beginning of the war; and although that gave a surplus of about five thousand men to offset any future requisitions, recruiting was continued with unabated zeal until the end.

In 1864 an important and a much needed improvement was made in the municipal organization for the relief of the poor. Under the provisions of the first city charter one person was elected in each ward of the city to be an overseer of the poor, and the persons thus chosen constituted the board of overseers, with all the powers formerly exercised by the town board. In the administration of their department they claimed the right to spend money to any extent and in any manner they saw fit. Grocers, coal-dealers, and others got elected on the board for the sole purpose of furnishing, either directly or indirectly, the articles for which the city paid. Mayor Quincy attempted in 1824 to obtain additional legislation by which the doings of the board would be brought under the supervision of the city council, but he failed; and his successors who afterward renewed the attempt failed, for the reason that the people could not be made to understand why the persons elected by them to the board of overseers were not as trustworthy as those elected to the city council. The change effected in 1864 was due

[1] The Mayor in his message to the City Council, at the beginning of the year 1866, gives this as the total number of men furnished by Boston, as far as ascertained, at that date: army, seventeen thousand one hundred and seventy-five; navy, eight thousand nine hundred and forty-four. The several organizations in which they enlisted are given in the appendix to the message. (*City Document* No. 1, 1866.) I have not been able to find either in the city clerk's office or the adjutant-general's office anything more complete or accurate than the statement furnished by the Mayor. [See General Palfrey's chapter on "Boston Soldiery," in the present volume, and Schouler's *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War*. — ED.]

more, perhaps, to Alderman Norcross than to any other person. As the chairman of a committee which investigated the subject in 1862, he exposed the loose and irresponsible methods of the old board so effectually that the city council petitioned the General Court for authority to appoint the overseers and to audit their accounts. An act giving that authority was passed April 2, 1864; and the new board, composed of honest and capable men, was organized July 4 following, with Robert C. Winthrop as chairman.

On September 18, 1865, the city government took possession of the new City Hall, on School Street, and listened to an admirable address by Mayor Lincoln. Since January, 1863, the mayor, the city council, and some of the heads of departments had occupied the building belonging to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association, on the corner of Chauncy and Bedford streets. The new hall was well fitted for the accommodation of the government of that day; but the growth of the city has since made it necessary to hire outside offices for many of the departments.

On April 4, 1865, an act was passed by the Legislature authorizing the city to build the new reservoir, since known as the Chestnut Hill Reservoir. This enlargement of the water-works became necessary to save the water which was wasted at the lake when it overflowed, and to have a larger supply than the Brookline reservoir to draw from in case of accident to the aqueduct. The cost of this work, including the handsome driveway which was constructed around the reservoir, was $2,450,000. The city was also authorized the same year to cut a street through Fort Hill. This led to the entire removal of the hill. Washington Square, which crowned its summit, — once an attractive green spot, surrounded by the fine houses of wealthy residents, — had come to be a turfless, unwholesome piece of ground, surrounded by tenement houses of the lowest class. The work of cutting through the street was begun Oct. 15, 1866, and the whole elevation was removed by July 31, 1872. The amount of earth carried off, — partly by an elevated railroad, to fill Atlantic Avenue and the docks on the landward side, and partly by carts, to raise the grade of the territory which had had its drainage impaired by the filling of the Back-Bay basin, — was five hundred and forty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-eight cubic yards. The total cost of the improvement was $1,575,000. The mayor and aldermen had extraordinary powers from the General Court to take private property and assess the damages.

In the year 1866 the Legislature gave the city what it had been long praying for, — that is, power to lay out, widen, and grade streets, and to assess upon each of the estates abutting on such streets a sum not exceeding half the amount which the estate is benefited by the improvement. Previous to the passage of this act the street widenings in the old portion of the city had generally been made by taking portions of estates where the owners had given notice of intention to build. By pursuing this policy the expense of paying for buildings and for breaking up the occupants' business was saved; but it was nevertheless a very expensive way of doing the work,

as the assessments for damages on account of taking property in that way were generally very heavy, and the city was unable to get the benefit of the widening in the increased value of the property for purposes of taxation until the improvement was completed. The whole amount expended by the city for laying out, widening, and extending streets, from June 1, 1822, to May 1, 1880, was $26,691,495.85. Had the city government steadily adhered to the "prospective plans for the improvement of the streets," adopted in 1825 under the administration of Mayor Quincy, a considerable portion of this enormous expense would have been saved.

In the charter election of December, 1866, Otis Norcross,[1] the Republican candidate, was successful, receiving nine hundred more votes than his Democratic opponent, Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. Mr. Norcross held the office of mayor only one year. His failure to receive the customary reelection for a second term was due, perhaps, to a certain stiffness of virtue, which, in political life at least, seldom receives the reward it merits. His administration is chiefly to be commended for what it did *not* do. It fell upon a time when some very sensible people were congratulating the country on the blessing of being in debt, and when municipal aid was sought and often granted for the promotion of private enterprises. A great number of projects, involving the expenditure of millions of dollars, were under consideration when Mr. Norcross took office; and had he not been a man of considerable firmness, one who had an intelligent idea of the scope and purpose of municipal government, and old-fashioned notions concerning municipal indebtedness, the city would have been committed to some enterprises of very doubtful expediency. Among other measures which claimed the attention of the government was one for the improvement of the flats on the northerly shore of South Boston, extending from Fort Point Channel to Castle Island. The improvement was intended partly for the benefit of the harbor, by deepening the ship-channel and increasing the movement of the water therein, so as to prevent it from shoaling, and partly for the direct benefit of commerce, by providing additional facilities for the delivery at deep water of freight from the West. It was proposed that the city should enter into a contract with the Commonwealth to fill these flats, build docks, streets, sewers, and bridges, and reimburse itself by the sale of the property to corporations and individuals. It was a magnificent scheme, but the Mayor did not believe that the city ought to undertake to carry it out alone. He endeavored, and successfully, to secure the

[1] Mr. Norcross was the descendant of Jeremiah Norcross, who came to this country in 1638, and shortly afterward settled at Watertown. He was born in Boston Nov. 2, 1811, and was educated at private schools and at the Boston high school. At the time of his election he was one of the leading merchants of the city. He possessed a thorough knowledge of municipal affairs, having been a director of the house of correction, a member of the school committee, president of the water board, treasurer to the overseers of the poor, and for three years (1862–1864) a member of the board of aldermen. In all these positions he performed services of lasting value to the city, by introducing better business methods, and raising the standard of official duty.

co-operation of all the parties interested, — the State, the city, and the railroad corporations which desired additional terminal facilities. Had the city undertaken to do the whole work, it would have been called upon to spend an enormous amount of money, and the property would probably have been thrown upon the market, before it could be utilized so as to cover the cost of the improvement.[1]

In his inaugural address the Mayor called attention to the unhealthy condition of the territory lying south of the Public Garden, caused by the want of suitable drainage. This territory was on the border of the Back Bay, and had been built upon before a grade was established, and when there was a right of drainage into a basin in which the water did not rise more than three feet above low-water. The filling of the basin by the Commonwealth and the Water-Power Company made it necessary to extend the sewers to points where the natural rise of the tide prevented the sewers from discharging their contents during the greater part of the day. The drainage of the whole territory lying west of Washington Street, between the Public Garden and the Roxbury line, was injuriously affected by the Back Bay improvement; but it was only within the district lying between Boylston Street and Dover Street, which had been built upon many years before any scheme for filling the adjoining flats had been seriously considered, that the injury was of a character to call for immediate action. The householders in that locality thought that the city should bear all the expense of providing suitable drainage, but the city authorities took the ground that the estates should be assessed for a portion of the benefit which would accrue from raising the grade of the territory. The subject had been discussed for some years, and with much bitterness. Mr. Norcross recommended an application to the Legislature for special authority to abate the nuisance and to recover a portion of the expense for so doing. His recommendation was adopted; and an act was passed during the session of 1867 giving the city authority to take that portion of the territory known as the Church-Street District, raise the grade, and either reconvey the several estates to their former owners upon payment of certain expenses, or sell them to the highest bidder. The act contained provisions new to the legislation of the State; but it was drawn with great care by an eminent jurist, and it enabled the city to carry out a great sanitary improvement without hardship to the numerous individuals whose property was taken, and without large expense to the city. In the following year the provisions of the act were extended to the territory known as the Suffolk-Street District, thereby covering all the low territory lying between the Public Garden and Dover Street. The net cost to the city of carrying out these improvements amounted to $2,558,745. Forty-seven acres of territory, occupied by one thousand two hundred and thirty buildings, and two thousand one hundred and fifty-five families, were included within the provisions of the legislative acts. The streets, alleys, and back-yards were

[1] The plan of improvement which was adopted is described in the chapter on "Boston Harbor."

raised to the grade of eighteen feet above mean low-water; the cellars were raised to the grade of twelve feet; and the buildings were raised to correspond to the grade of the streets. It took four hundred and five thousand three hundred and four cubic yards of gravel, mostly brought from the country by steam power, to do the filling. The work was not entered upon until June, 1868, after Mr. Norcross had gone out of office; and it was not completed until 1872.

Near the close of the year 1867 the city council passed orders approving certain plans for the erection of a new hospital for the insane, on a lot of land purchased for the purpose several years before in the town of Winthrop. The hospital at South Boston, erected in 1839, and enlarged in 1846, was reported by the directors for public institutions to be overcrowded at times, and to be lacking in many of the conveniences which medical experts deemed essential to the proper care of the insane. The Mayor, while recognizing the need of some improvements in the accommodations furnished to the city's patients, was strongly opposed to the erection of a hospital on the exposed headland at Winthrop, and was opposed to the erection, on any site, of a building projected on the magnificent plans which had received the approval of the city council. He vetoed the orders, and saved the city from building and maintaining a very expensive institution which it was clearly the duty of the State to provide, and which the State did provide some ten years later.

Among the notable events of this year was the annexation of the city of Roxbury to Boston. The subject had long been under consideration. Commissioners appointed by the governments of the two cities in 1866 to confer upon the subject reported early in 1867 in favor of the project, and on June 1 the Legislature passed an act, to take effect upon its acceptance by a majority of the voters in the two cities, providing that all the territory then comprised within the limits of Roxbury, with the inhabitants and estates therein, should be annexed to and made a part of the city of Boston and the county of Suffolk, and should be subject to the same municipal regulations, obligations, and liabilities, and entitled to the same immunities in all respects as Boston. On the second Monday in September the inhabitants of the two cities voted to accept the act,[1] and on the first Monday in January following Roxbury became a part of Boston, constituting the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth wards.

Roxbury at the time of its annexation contained about thirty thousand[2] inhabitants, and real and personal property valued for purposes of taxation at $26,551,700. Most of the wealthy residents had their places of business in Boston; and the controlling argument for annexation in this case, and in the case of other municipal corporations subsequently annexed, was that many men doing business in Boston were forced by its limited area to live

[1] Boston: yeas, 4,633; nays, 1,059. Roxbury: yeas, 1,832; nays 592. [See Mr. Drake's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] Twenty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-six, by the census of 1865

outside of the city, and to lose the privilege of voting on questions of local government where they had the larger interest. Another argument in favor of the union, and one which had some influence probably, was that the relations between the two municipalities had recently become much more intimate through the occupation of the territory reclaimed from the sea on both sides of the narrow neck of land which had formerly united them by only a very slender tie.

The municipal election held on Dec. 9, 1867, resulted in the choice of Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, the Democratic candidate, for mayor, who received about five hundred more votes than Mr. Norcross. Dr. Shurtleff[1] had long sought the office of mayor, but not, it may be said, from any unworthy motives. He had spent a great deal of time in the study of the early institutions of the New England colonies, and had a very intimate and peculiar knowledge of Boston, its history, its traditions, its government, and its people. To be the chief magistrate of the town he knew so well, and for which he had the love that an antiquary feels for the subject of his studies, seemed to him a very great distinction. His fellow-citizens, recognizing his sincerity of purpose, kept him in the office for three terms, although he lacked the more important qualifications for a good executive. The constitution of his mind was so peculiar that long contact with men and affairs failed to give him any real knowledge of human character, or of the proper methods of government. He took considerable pride in the fact that he was the first mayor of Boston who had always belonged to the Democratic party; and it appears that he is the only mayor of Boston, up to the present day, who can claim that distinction. Mr. Wightman, Mr. Gaston, Mr. Cobb, and Mr. Prince, who belonged to the Democratic party at the time of their election, had formerly been members of the Whig party. But it cannot be said that Dr. Shurtleff used the office to further the interests of any political organization. He gave so little satisfaction to his party associates that they opposed his re-election for a third term, and he was taken up and elected by the Citizens, who saw in the Democratic opposition an element dangerous to good government.

His administration was marked by considerable activity on the part of the city government, especially in the matter of widening and extending streets in the business portion of the city. In 1868 Atlantic Avenue was laid out across the docks between Fort Point Channel and the East Boston Ferry ways, covering almost exactly the site of the ancient "barricado,"[2] which connected the north battery with the south battery, or Sconce. The cost of this improvement amounted to nearly two and a half million dollars. In 1869 Broadway, the main thoroughfare through South Boston, was extended across Fort Point Channel to Albany Street, at an expense of

[1] He was born in Boston on June 29, 1810, and graduated at Harvard College in 1831. A brief memoir of Dr. Shurtleff, by C. C. Smith, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December, 1874, p. 389.

[2] [See Vol. II., p. 502. — ED.]

nearly a million dollars; and Federal Street, which had long been the principal thoroughfare from the old portion of the city to South Boston, was widened at an expense of about half a million dollars. These improvements were made necessary by the rapid growth of South Boston. During the ten years between 1860 and 1870, the population of that division of the city had increased more than fifty per cent, and the taxable value of property had more than doubled.

A similar development had been going on in East Boston during the same period. For many years there had been great dissatisfaction with the accommodations furnished by the corporations which operated the ferries between East Boston and the city proper. The People's Ferry Company, chartered in 1853, conveyed all its property, except its boats and franchise, to the city in 1859. The interest on the amount paid for the property was in the nature of a subsidy to the company; but owing to the bad location of the ferry landings, and to bad management on the part of the directors, the ferry did not pay its running expenses, and in 1864 the boats were withdrawn and sold, and the city took possession of the ferry-ways, which it had purchased in 1859. The East Boston Ferry Company was chartered in 1852, and, having obtained possession of the ferry landings most convenient for public travel, was enabled to do a business which gave it a small return on the capital invested. But the people of East Boston were unwilling that any corporation should make money out of the highway which, as they said, they were obliged to use in going from their homes to pay their taxes at the City Hall. The large amount of money expended for bridges to South Boston was used as an argument in favor of establishing a free bridge or free ferries to East Boston. In 1868 the Legislature chartered a company to build a bridge over tidewater between the ferry landings; but the United States authorities interposed to prevent the project from being carried out, as a bridge would have obstructed the passage of war vessels to and from the Navy Yard at Charlestown. In 1869 the city entered into a contract with the East Boston Ferry Company to purchase its franchise and property for the sum of $275,000; and on April 1, 1870, the city government took possession of the ferry, and has since operated it through the agency of a board of directors elected by the city council. The tolls are fixed by the board of aldermen, at a rate which pays a little more than the actual running expenses.

On June 4, 1869, the inhabitants of Dorchester and Boston voted to accept an act of the Legislature uniting the two corporations;[1] and on the first Monday in January following the ancient town, which received its name in the same order of the court of assistants that gave Boston its name and its corporate existence, became the sixteenth ward of the city. The State census of 1865 gave Dorchester a population of ten thousand seven hundred and seven; and the national census of 1870 gave the same terri-

[1] Vote of Boston: yeas, 3,420; nays, 565. Dorchester: yeas, 928; nays, 726. [See Mr. Barrows' chapter on "Dorchester in the Last Hundred Years," in the present volume. — Ed.]

tory a population of twelve thousand two hundred and fifty-nine. The old town organization was maintained in all its strength and purity up to the time of the union with the city. Most of the inhabitants belonged to the well-to-do class, who had an interest alike in their native town and in the city to which they resorted for business. The valuation of the real and personal property in Dorchester for purposes of taxation in 1869 amounted to $20,315,700.

The valuation of property in the whole city on May 1, 1870, amounted to $584,089,400, an increase of $307,228,400 during the previous decade, or 110.96 per cent. The total funded debt of the city at that date amounted to $18,687,350.91. The total tax levy made on May 1, 1870, amounted to $8,636,862, an increase of $6,106,862 since 1860; and the rate of taxation had risen during the same period from $8.99 to $13.65 on $1,000. The ninth census of the United States, taken on June 1, 1870, gave the city a population of 250,526, divided as follows: native males, 79,599; native females, 82,941; foreign males, 40,318; foreign females, 47,668

By an act of the Legislature of 1870 an important amendment was made to the city charter. All the powers formerly vested in the board of aldermen, in relation to laying out, altering, or discontinuing streets or ways in the city, were transferred to a board of street commissioners, consisting of three persons, elected by the qualified voters of the city for a term of three years, one to be elected each year. By subsequent enactments the powers of the board have been somewhat curtailed. Where the estimated expense of the street improvement exceeds $10,000, the concurrence of the city council is necessary to make the action of the commissioners binding; and by a two-thirds vote of the members of each branch, the city council may require the commissioners to lay out, alter, or discontinue any street. The power to abate taxes was also transferred from the aldermen to the commission. The establishment of this board was the beginning of some important changes in the organization of the city government. In the original organization the aldermen took the place of the selectmen, constituting the executive board of the government, of which the mayor was the chief officer. They also formed one branch of a council which took the place of the town-meeting. The legislative and executive powers of the corporation were therefore united in the same body. This was well enough in a city of small size, with a homogeneous population; but in 1870 Boston had ceased to be a small city, and there was not that readiness on the part of the substantial men in the community to serve the city gratuitously which had been shown at an earlier day, when the service was less arduous, and when it was felt to be more of a neighborly office. The aldermen who happened to be in office, however, at the time any change was proposed by which their powers or duties would be curtailed, generally put themselves in opposition to it; and it was only when the departments which they administered were found unequal to any emergency, that they gave way to the popular demand for the transfer of their more important exec-

utive powers to persons specially selected for the purpose, and compensated for their services. These changes, and the influences by which they were brought about, will be described when I come to deal with the administrations under which they occurred.

The charter election on Dec. 12, 1870, resulted in the choice of William Gaston,[1] the Democratic and Citizens' candidate, for mayor, who received three thousand more votes than his Republican competitor, Mr. George O. Carpenter. An able lawyer, and a man of high character, Mr. Gaston had the respect of all classes in the community; but he lacked that essential requisite for a good executive, — determination. He made up his mind with great difficulty, and it required a painful effort for him to act on any new or important question. He held the office of mayor for two years, and would have been re-elected for a third term had not an emergency arisen calling for a more energetic chief magistrate.

The most important act of the city government during his administration was the adoption of an ordinance to establish a new board of health. The city charter vested in the city council ample powers for the preservation of the public health, and authorized them to constitute either branch, or any committee of their number, or any other persons appointed for the purpose, a board of health for all or for particular purposes. For many years the aldermen had constituted the board of health, and the chief executive officer of the health department was elected annually by the city council. In cases of emergency, such as the prevalence of contagious or infectious diseases, the aldermen were aided by a board of consulting physicians, who were also elected by the city council, and who, like the aldermen, received no compensation for their services. As the city increased in size many important questions affecting the public health were constantly arising, — questions which the aldermen were not competent to deal with; but they were slow to recognize their incompetency, and were quick to take offence at the advice tendered by their medical assistants. As a consequence, the leading physicians refused to serve in a position where they had no power to carry out the measures which they recommended; and the aldermen soon found themselves losing the respect and confidence of the community. In the year 1871 a joint committee appointed to investigate certain complaints relating to the sale of unwholesome meat found that there were no proper restrictions upon the introduction of bad meat into the city markets, and that the health of the inhabitants was endangered by the want of an efficient board of health. In

[1] Mr. Gaston was the descendant of a Huguenot family that came to this country in the first half of the eighteenth century; and was born in South Killingly, Conn., on Oct. 3, 1820. He was graduated at Brown University, Providence, R. I., in 1840, and began the practice of law in Roxbury in 1846. He was a member of the common council of that city five years (1849–53), and its president two years (1852–53); was city solicitor five years (1856–60), and mayor two years (1861–62). He had formerly been a member of the Whig party, but the Antislavery agitation had carried him, with many of his eminent associates of the bar, into the Democratic ranks.

his address to the city council, at the beginning of 1872, Mr. Gaston urged the passage of an ordinance to establish an independent board; and his recommendation was enforced later in the year by the neglect of the aldermen to take any effective measures to check the small-pox, which prevailed to an alarming extent. The aldermen were unable to withstand the force of public opinion, and on December 2 an ordinance was passed authorizing the mayor to appoint, with the approval of the city council, three persons to constitute the board of health, to serve for a term of three years each. As a sort of compromise, the duty of cleaning the streets and cesspools, and collecting offal and ashes, — the work in which a considerable number of laborers were employed, — was placed under the charge of a joint committee of the city council. The appointment of a superintendent of health, a city physician, and a port physician, was given to the new board, but the exercise of this power was subject to the approval of the mayor. Mr. Gaston failed to make any appointments on the board before retiring from office, and the duty of carrying the ordinance into effect devolved upon his successor.

In the year 1871 the supply of water from Lake Cochituate was found to be insufficient for the growing wants of the city, and a competent engineer was appointed to make an examination of all sources of supply within fifty miles of Boston. This examination resulted in an application to the Legislature the following year for authority to take water from Sudbury River and Farm Pond. The authority was granted, and a temporary connection was immediately made between Sudbury River and Lake Cochituate, which furnished an adequate supply during the summer of 1872; but this connection could not be made permanent without interfering with the privileges of the mill-owners along the line of the river; and it became a serious question for the government to consider, whether the need for an additional supply of pure water was so imperative as to justify the very heavy expense which would be involved by taking all the waters of the river, within or above Framingham, as authorized by the act of the Legislature. During the unusually dry season of 1874, a temporary connection was made with the Mystic water works, which supplied Charlestown; but it was soon found that the connection could not be maintained without depriving Charlestown and its dependents of an adequate supply; and on Jan. 2, 1875, orders were passed authorizing the Cochituate water board, as the agent of the city, to take the waters of Sudbury River and Farm Pond and conduct them by a separate conduit to Chestnut Hill Reservoir, a distance of eighty-three thousand nine hundred and twelve feet. The city is now receiving from this source a supply equal to twenty million gallons daily, which can be doubled by the construction of additional storage basins. The cost of the additional supply has already amounted to over $5,000,000; and the entire cost of the Cochituate and Sudbury works on April 30, 1880, amounted to $16,341,908.25. The cost of constructing the Mystic works amounted at that date to $1,614,648. The average daily

consumption of water during the year 1879 amounted to 34,579,370 gallons, of which 8,883,470 were drawn from Mystic Lake, and 25,695,900 from Cochituate Lake and Sudbury River.

In 1871 the Legislature established a new department in the city government, known as the Department for the Survey and Inspection of Buildings. The chief officer is appointed by the mayor, with the approval of the city council, for a term of three years; and the assistant inspectors and clerk are appointed by the chief officer with the approval of the mayor. The department had been organized but a few months when the great fire of 1872 occurred, and at the extra session of the Legislature which followed, the provisions of the building law were greatly modified with a view to prevent the use of combustible materials in the construction of buildings within certain limits to be prescribed from time to time by the city council.

A description of the great fire does not fall within the scope of this chapter, therefore I shall refer to it only so far as may be necessary to show the effect it had upon the city government. There was a good deal of dissatisfaction with the management of the fire department during the fire, and this dissatisfaction subsequently found expression in the defeat of the Mayor when nominated for another term, and in the reorganization of the department. It is natural that the people should hold the chief executive of the government largely responsible for the efficiency of the executive departments under him, although by the letter of the law he may have little or no control over them. Mayor Quincy (the senior) was quick to see that if anything went wrong in any department of the government (the mayor's duties were then partly legislative and partly executive) he would be held accountable, and he felt that the people were right in holding him accountable. Therefore he made the "glittering generalities" concerning the powers of the executive "blazing ubiquities." By the charter of 1854 the powers of the mayor — especially in the matter of controlling legislation — were somewhat curtailed; but still there is enough in the general powers given him as the chief executive officer of the corporation, and in the injunction "to be vigilant and active at all times in causing the laws for the government of the city to be duly executed and put in force," to justify the people in looking to him for such prompt and energetic action as the emergency may call for. Mr. Gaston failed to make his paramount authority as chief executive felt, not only in the case of the great fire, but in the measures taken to check the terrible disease from which, for want of suitable sanitary precautions, many lives were sacrificed during the last months of his administration. While, therefore, his general policy in the management of the city affairs was approved by all classes, the lack of energy shown in these two instances raised a strong opposition to his retention in office; and at the election on Dec. 10, 1872, Henry Lillie Pierce,[1] who was nominated

[1] Mr. Pierce, the descendant of an English family that settled in Watertown in 1638, was born in Stoughton, Mass., Aug. 23, 1825. He received his education in the public schools of his native town and in the academy at Milton, and the academy and normal school at Bridgewater. Although actively engaged in business since the twenty-fifth year of his age, he has

by the Republicans on a non-partisan platform, received a plurality of seventy-nine votes.

Mr. Pierce brought to the mayor's office not only good business principles and an intimate knowledge of municipal affairs, but an ability for dealing with public questions very rare among men not specially trained for office. In his inaugural address he recommended the reorganization of the fire and health departments, and the revision of the city charter. He did not content himself merely with recommending these measures which he thought essential to the good government of the city; he had that sense of responsibility in seeing them carried out which is the chief requisite of a good executive. Within ten days after taking office he organized a new board of health, and took effective measures to check the loathsome disease from which the people were dying at the rate of about fifty a week. The reorganization of the fire department met with strong opposition. The movement was made to appear as a sort of reflection on the conduct of the members during the great fire. Now the firemen had behaved on that occasion with characteristic spirit and bravery, but for want of an intelligent head their efforts were badly directed. Many of them, however, did not appreciate this, and they made the cause of their chief their own. Had it not been for another serious fire on May 30, 1873, which went far to destroy the public confidence in the management of the department, it is hardly probable that the Mayor's recommendation could have been carried out. It required no additional legislation on the part of the State to enable the city council to place the department under a paid commission, and on October 24 an ordinance was passed giving the mayor authority to appoint, with the approval of the city council, three fire commissioners, to hold office for three years each. The duty of extinguishing fires and protecting life and property in case of fire, was intrusted to these commissioners; and to enable them to perform their duty in the most efficient manner, they were authorized to appoint all other officers and members of the department and fix their compensation. The Mayor lost no time in carrying the ordinance into effect, and a considerable reduction in the rates of insurance soon testified to the efficiency of the new organization.

The recommendation for a revision of the city charter was also strongly opposed, on the ground that it looked to a centralization of power; but the mayor was finally authorized to appoint a commission to consider the subject. Benjamin R. Curtis, the eminent jurist, accepted the position of chairman, but he died before the work was entirely completed; and his place was filled by George Tyler Bigelow, formerly Chief-Justice of the Supreme

always taken a deep interest in public affairs. The pro-slavery course of the Democratic party, to which he originally belonged, led him in 1848 to join in the organization of the Free Soil party, and afterward to become an active member of the Republican party. He was a member of the Legislature for four years (1860–62, 1866); and on the annexation of Dorchester to Boston he was chosen to represent that part of the city (where he had long been a resident) in the board of aldermen during the two years ending 1870–71.

Court. In their report, submitted at the beginning of the year 1875, the commissioners said: —

"The lapse of half a century since the adoption of the first charter has wrought great changes in the city and in its municipal affairs. Its population in 1822 was only a little more than forty thousand. It now contains upward of three hundred and forty thousand. Its territory at that time embraced an area of about two thousand acres; now it includes more than twenty-one thousand five hundred acres. Its valuation in 1822 amounted only to about forty-two million; in 1874 it rose to upward of eight hundred million. The change has not been merely in the extent of its territory, the number of its inhabitants, and the amount of its taxable property. The character of its population has greatly changed. Instead of a small, compact community, the leading citizens of which were well known to each other, it has become a large metropolis, with a population spread over a large extent of territory, divided into numerous villages, widely separated, having but few interests in common, and the inhabitants of which are but little known to each other. With these changes have come their natural consequences. Many institutions, public works, and organizations have grown up or been established, such as the public exigencies require, and which have added largely to the duties of the public officers of the city, essentially changed their character, and rendered their administration more difficult and complicated. . . . It would seem to be clear that duties so numerous and important cannot be properly superintended and managed by persons who render gratuitous services only, or who are chosen to office not for their experience in the duties which they may be called to perform, or their peculiar fitness and skill in the work of the different departments which they may have in charge."

The draft of a new charter, which the commissioners submitted with their report, provided that the mayor and the members of the city council should hold office for three years; that the city council should have entire control over all appropriations of the public money and the purposes for which it is expended; that the heads of the several executive departments should be appointed by the mayor with the approval of the city council; and that the school committee should be reduced to two members from each ward. Some of the recommendations made by the commissioners have since been carried out, but the report as a whole never received the approval of the city council.

Among other important matters which engaged the attention of the city government during the year 1873 were the street improvements within the district covered by the great fire of the previous year. The cost of these improvements amounted to over five million dollars. The old streets were so narrow and crooked that it was at first proposed to lay out the territory on an entirely new plan; but it was found on examination that the city could not give a good title to the land included in the old streets, and the improvement was, therefore, restricted to the widening and straightening of the old ways.

The city council of this year also passed an order requesting the trustees of the Public Library to open the reading-room connected with that institu-

tion on certain hours every Sunday. Similar orders, passed in 1865 and 1872, had been vetoed by the mayors then in office, partly on the ground that the law officer of the city was of the opinion that the opening would be a violation of the statute relating to the observance of the Lord's Day, and partly on the ground that it was contrary to public policy. Mr. Pierce was heartily in favor of the measure; and with his approval it was carried into effect, and its wisdom has hardly been questioned since.

The boundaries of the city were considerably enlarged this year by the annexation of Charlestown, West Roxbury, and Brighton.[1] At the election in November, 1873, Mr. Pierce was chosen a member of the National House of Representatives to fill a vacancy in the third Congressional district, caused by the death of Mr. William Whiting. In order to take his seat in the House on the first Monday in December, he resigned the office of mayor; and in accordance with the provisions of the charter the duties were performed for the remainder of the year by Leonard R. Cutter, chairman of the board of aldermen.

At the municipal election in December Samuel Crocker Cobb[2] was chosen mayor for the ensuing year by a nearly unanimous vote. For the office of chief executive he was singularly well fitted, not only by experience in municipal affairs, but by a disposition in which great energy and courage were joined to high-bred courtesy and genial frankness. Although not specially identified with any political party, his sympathies, after the dissolution of the Whig party to which he originally belonged, were generally with the Democratic party on national questions. He was a firm believer, however, in a non-partisan administration of local affairs; and so well did he act up to his convictions in that matter, that the Citizens elected him for three successive terms, — the last time against the united opposition of the two leading political parties. During these three years (1874–76) a great many important measures were acted upon by the city government.

In his inaugural address the Mayor recommended the establishment of several public parks in different sections of the city, easily accessible to

[1] Charlestown at this time contained about 30,000 inhabitants, and covered an area of 586 square acres. Brighton contained about 5,000 inhabitants, and covered an area of 2,277 square acres. West Roxbury numbered about 9,000, and its territory embraced an area of 7,848 square acres. By the census of 1870 the population of Charlestown was 28,323; of Brighton, 4,967; of West Roxbury, 8,683. [See the chapters on "Charlestown," "Roxbury," and "Brighton," in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] He was born in Taunton, Mass., on May 22, 1826, and was the descendant of an English family of good condition that settled in that town during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The paternal ancestor, Henry Cobb, emigrated to the Plymouth Colony as early as 1629, and settled at Barnstable, where he died in 1679, leaving seven sons. He was fitted for college at the Bristol Academy in Taunton, but came to Boston at the early age of sixteen, and engaged in the foreign shipping business, which he was following at the time he entered the mayor's office. He served as a member of the Roxbury board of aldermen in 1861–62; and after the annexation of that city in 1867 he was chosen as its first representative in the Boston board of aldermen. He also served as a member of the board of directors for public institutions from 1869 to the close of the year 1873.

the people. The subject of enlarging the public grounds had already received some attention. In 1869 the General Court passed an act providing for the appointment of a mixed commission, part by the State and part by the city authorities, with power to take lands and "lay out one or more public parks in or near the city of Boston." The act was not to take effect unless accepted by two-thirds of the inhabitants of Boston, who might exercise the right of voting on the question; and failing to receive the requisite number of affirmative votes, it became void. In accordance with the Mayor's recommendation a new application was made to the Legislature; and in 1875 an act was passed authorizing the mayor, with the approval of the city council, to appoint three park commissioners, with power to take lands, lay out public parks, and make rules for their government. The operations of the commissioners were restricted, however, by a provision in the act that no expenditures could be made by them, and no obligations entered into beyond the appropriations of money made from time to time by the city council. This act was duly accepted by the citizens on June 9, 1875, and the commissioners were appointed in the following month. Beyond preparing plans and estimates no action was taken by the commissioners until 1877, when, with the approval of the city council, they purchased one hundred and six acres of flats on the westerly side of the Back Bay, at the average price of ten cents per square foot. The assessments which they were authorized to levy on the adjoining lands, on account of their increased value from the establishment of the park, have made the net cost of the property to the city only about thirty thousand dollars. The commissioners have since recommended, and the city council has now under consideration, the purchase of a large tract of land in West Roxbury, the purchase of certain lands and flats at City Point, in South Boston, and the acquisition from the State of a strip of flats on Charles River, in the rear of Beacon Street and Charles Street, for an ornamental embankment and driveway. Connected to some extent with the park improvement, as a sanitary measure, was the plan for an intercepting sewerage system prepared by an able commission appointed by the Mayor in 1875. The plan was adopted in 1877, and an appropriation of $3,713,000 was made to carry it out. It involved the construction of about thirteen miles of intercepting sewers, the establishment of pumping works at Old Harbor Point, and a tunnel, under Dorchester Bay, to the outlet in deep water beyond Moon Island. The work has not yet (1880) been completed.

To carry on the important work of procuring an additional supply of water from Sudbury River, to which reference has already been made, the Mayor urged the appointment of a paid commission, organized on the same basis as the health and fire boards; and on the petition of the city council the Legislature of 1875 passed an act authorizing the appointment of such a commission, to be known as the Boston Water Board. The board was organized in the following year, and all the powers conferred by the statutes of the Commonwealth, in relation to supplying the city with water,

were delegated to it; but in the exercise of its powers the board is subject to the supervision of the city council.

In his first address the Mayor referred to the inability both of the State and the city police to execute the law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, and stated that he would "use all legal means to carry into effect a law which should have for its object the regulation and restraint of the liquor traffic." In the following year the Legislature passed a license law, and its execution in the city of Boston was given to a board of three license commissioners, appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the city council.

By an act of the Legislature passed in 1874 the mayor was authorized to appoint, subject to the approval of the board of aldermen, three persons to constitute a board of registrars of voters. Previous to that time the preparation of the voting lists had devolved upon the city clerk. There was much dissatisfaction with the manner in which the ward officers performed their duties of receiving, counting, and returning votes. The city charter provided for the annual election of a warden, clerk, and six inspectors, by the qualified voters in each ward. These offices were filled in many instances by persons who were barely able to read and write, and who were utterly incapable of properly performing the duties. The aldermen constituted the returning board for the city; and being called upon after every election to recount more or less of the votes, the grossest errors were often discovered in the ward returns. In 1876 the mayor was authorized, with the approval of the aldermen, to appoint three of the six inspectors of elections in each ward. By putting the responsibility for the selection upon the mayor, and increasing the term of office to three years, it was expected that an honest and intelligent discharge of the duties would be secured; but the reform did not go far enough; interested parties still controlled a majority of the ward officers. In 1878, therefore, on the petition of the city council, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the board of assessors of taxes to divide each ward of the city into voting precincts, containing as nearly as practicable five hundred registered voters; and, in addition to a warden and clerk elected by the inhabitants of the precinct, the mayor, with the approval of the aldermen, was authorized to appoint two inspectors, representing different political parties. Under this system it is comparatively easy to detect errors or frauds either in the registration of voters or in the returns of elections.

In 1875 the Legislature passed an important act to regulate and limit municipal indebtedness. It provided that cities and towns in this Commonwealth should not become indebted to an amount, exclusive of loans for water supply, exceeding in the aggregate three per centum on the valuation of their taxable property; but in any city or town where the indebtedness amounted, at the time the act was passed, to two per centum on its valuation, permission was given to increase the debt to the extent of an additional one per centum. At the time the act took effect this city was indebted

more than two per centum on its valuation (about two and three fifths), and was therefore authorized to increase the debt one per centum on its valuation of May 1, 1875, namely, $793,961,895. Any debts contracted for other purposes than constructing general sewers and supplying the inhabitants with pure water are made payable within a period not exceeding ten years, and the city is required to raise annually by taxation an amount sufficient to pay the interest as it accrues, and eight per centum of the principal until the sum raised is sufficient to extinguish the debt at maturity. Debts incurred in constructing sewers may be made payable at a period not exceeding twenty years; and for supplying water, at a period not exceeding thirty years. The Mayor seized the opportunity afforded by the passage of this act to urge upon the city council the policy of raising by taxation, annually, a sufficient amount of money to pay for all expenses incurred by the city, except for the enlargement of the water works. He was able to show that, if the government abstained from contracting new loans, the sinking funds already established would free the city from all except the water debt in eight years; but while the government was ready then, and indeed has at all times been ready, to applaud any general proposition looking to the reduction or extinction of the debt, its virtuous resolutions have seldom stood in the way of any scheme which seemed to meet the popular favor; and it may fairly be presumed that the indebtedness of the city will be kept very near the limit authorized by law.

Perhaps the most notable event of Mr. Cobb's administration, certainly the one which possesses the greatest historical interest, was the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill. On the evening of June 16, 1875, there was a very remarkable meeting in Music Hall. Many of the men who had taken a leading part in the war of the Rebellion — rebel and patriot; the soldier of the Union and the soldier of the Confederacy — met for the first time in peace and with a common object, — the commemoration of the most important of the series of events which resulted in the creation of an independent nation. The Mayor's address of welcome was admirably adapted to the spirit of the meeting, and met with a very cordial response from the city's guests. On the following day there was a great procession, composed of various military and civic bodies, and an oration on the site of the historic battleground by Charles Devens, Jr., at that time a justice of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Cobb was succeeded in the mayor's office by Frederick Octavius Prince,[1] who was elected in December, 1876. He was the candidate of the Democratic party; and partly through the influence of the national election held the month previous, and partly through his own personal popularity, he received about five thousand more votes than his opponent,

[1] Mr. Prince came of a good family, long resident in Boston, where he was born Jan. 18, 1818. He was graduated at the Latin School in his native city and at Harvard College, and subsequently became a member of the Suffolk Bar.

Nathaniel J. Bradlee, who was not only the candidate of the Republican party but of the Citizens' organization. Mr. Prince had held no office in the city government previous to his election as mayor, and his knowledge of municipal affairs was somewhat limited; but his readiness and ability as a public speaker, and his tact and courtesy as the representative of the city, especially on festive occasions, have been accepted as an offset, to some extent, for any shortcomings in the business administration of the office. Having been elected as the special representative of a party, he found some difficulty in making the demands of his supporters agree with the best interests of the city; and he did not always succeed in doing so. It may be said, however, that he endeavored to carry out the policy of retrenchment inaugurated by his predecessor, and that during the first part of his administration his efforts in that direction were measurably successful. In 1874 the tax levy had reached the enormous sum of $12,000,000. The panic of 1873 had proved most disastrous to the owners of real estate, especially to a large class of speculators in the lands recently annexed to the city. The policy pursued by the local assessors of maintaining a high valuation of real property created much dissatisfaction, and there was a general demand not only for a reduction of valuations, but for a reduction of expenses. In response to this demand the city's expenses were reduced in 1875 and 1876 to the extent of $2,775,098; and the valuation of real estate was reduced in 1876 from $558,000,000 to $526,000,000. In 1877 a further reduction of over half a million dollars was made in the tax levy, without detriment to the public service, and the real estate valuation was reduced to $481,000,000; but the spirit of economy which prevailed at the beginning of this year did not continue to the end. An order was passed by the city council to run the East Boston ferries at the city's expense; and although the Mayor was informed by the city solicitor that the order was illegal, he gave it his approval. The opponents of the measure went to the supreme court, and obtained a writ of mandamus directing the city to continue to collect the tolls established by the board of aldermen. The appropriations for carrying out the plan for improved sewerage ($3,713,000), for erecting a new building for the English High and Latin schools ($350,-000), and for a Back Bay park ($450,000), — measures initiated by previous city governments, — met with general approval.

When the time came for selecting candidates for the next city government, the dissatisfaction with Mr. Prince's administration found expression in a petition, signed by some twenty-five hundred tax-paying citizens "representing all parties and all classes," asking Mr. Henry L. Pierce, who had retired from Congress at the end of four years' service, to allow his name to be used as the Citizens' candidate for mayor. The call was too imperative to be disregarded; and Mr. Pierce stood as the candidate of the Citizens and also of the Republicans. Mr. Prince was renominated by the Democrats. There was a very bitter contest, which resulted in the

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election of Mr. Pierce by a majority of about two thousand three hundred votes.

On taking office Mr. Pierce made an address to the city government, which was highly commended by the representatives of all parties. Referring to some of the schemes which had been devised for improving our local government by a limitation of the suffrage, or by transferring the more important duties to commissions appointed by the State authorities, he said: —

"While I am fully sensible of the defects in our present system of municipal administration, I cannot help regarding with distrust any scheme for curing them by a radical change of the New England system under which we have grown up, and which, notwithstanding its defects, has thus far produced better results than any other system that has been tried in this country. . . . It is hardly probable that a condition of things can arise in any city in New England where those who have an interest in maintaining order will be outnumbered by those who hope for some personal benefit by creating disorder; therefore, if those who have interests at stake will bestir themselves to protect their interests, — and there is no safety in any scheme which can be devised unless they do so, — they can better accomplish their purpose by outvoting their opponents than by undertaking to deprive them of privileges they now possess. In a recent argument in favor of extending household suffrage to the counties in England, Mr. Gladstone says the franchise is an educational power. The possession of it quickens the intelligence, and tends to bind the nation together. It is more important to have an alert, well-taught, and satisfied people than a theoretically good legislative machine."

The most important act of Mr. Pierce's second administration was the reorganization of the police department. The regular police force at this time consisted of seven hundred and fifteen men. They were appointed by the mayor with the approval of the aldermen, and held office during good behavior. The powers of the mayor, the aldermen, and the chief of police were not clearly defined, and in consequence the discipline of the department was very lax. Mayor Cobb, in his address to the city council of 1876, had strongly urged the appointment of a commission to administer the department; but the Democrats were at that time united in their opposition to the creation of any more "three-headed commissions," and there were some prominent Republicans who doubted the expediency of giving any more power to the mayor. While the feeling against commissions in general was not much changed during the two following years, the growing inefficiency of the police department was so clearly seen that when Mayor Pierce pointed out the improvements which had been made in the fire and health departments by putting them under commissions, and declared his belief that a like improvement would follow the appointment of a commission to have charge of the police department and the execution of the laws in relation to the sale of intoxicating liquors, public opinion forced the city council to give its sanction to the measure. An act was obtained from the Legislature authorizing the mayor, with the approval of the city council, to

appoint three commissioners to serve for a term of three years each. The appointments of the mayor were readily confirmed, and the commissioners organized on July 8, 1878.

A further reduction of nearly $900,000 was made in the tax levy of this year; so that, although the assessors made a reduction of seventeen million dollars in the valuation of property, the rate of taxation was reduced from $13.10 to $12.80 on a thousand.

At the end of the year Mr. Pierce declined a re-election; and Mr. Frederick O. Prince was again brought forward as the candidate of the Democrats. His opponent was Colonel Charles R. Codman, who was the nominee of the Citizens and Republicans. The feeling that Mr. Prince had been rather hardly pressed in the preceding election led to a sort of reaction in his favor, which returned him to office with a plurality of about seven hundred votes. There was a marked improvement in his administration during his second term, so that he had the partial endorsement of a Citizens' nomination for a third term, and was elected by a majority of about two thousand six hundred votes over Mr. Solomon B. Stebbins, the Republican candidate. During these last two years (1879–80), the time of the government has been occupied mainly in carrying out the important measures previously

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adopted,—the improvement of the sewerage system, the construction of a park on the Back Bay, the enlargement of the water works, the construction of sewers in the Mystic valley to preserve the purity of the water supplied from that source, and the erection of a costly building for the English High and Latin schools. The most important among the new projects now (1880) under consideration are the establishment of public parks in West Roxbury, at South Boston Point, and on the banks of Charles River; and the erection of a new county court house, and public library building.[1] On Sept. 17, 1880, the city government celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Boston. A bronze statue of John Winthrop,[2] which

[1] For the last named purpose the General Court of 1880 granted to the city, free of rent, a parcel of land containing about thirty-three thousand square feet, situated on the southerly corner of Dartmouth and Boylston streets; the only conditions being that the erection thereon of a library building should be begun within three years, and that the library should be open, under reasonable regulations, to all the citizens of the Commonwealth. [See the chapter on "Libraries" in Vol. IV.—ED.]

[2] A heliotype of this statue is given in Vol. I. Jonathan Phillips, who died in July, 1860, bequeathed to the city of Boston $20,000 "as a trust fund, the income of which shall be annually expended to adorn and embellish the streets and public places of the city." On the recommendation of Mayor Cobb in 1875, the aldermen voted to use a portion of the income from the fund to erect a statue of Josiah Quincy. The order was given to Mr. Thomas Ball, and the statue was placed in front of the city hall, as a companion

had been erected in Scollay Square, was unveiled in the morning. Then followed commemorative services in the Old South Church, where the Mayor delivered an address of some length on the character and services of Winthrop;[1] and later in the day there was a great procession, the largest, it was said, that ever walked the streets of Boston.

And here the sketch of Boston "under the mayors" comes to an end. During the fifty-nine years that the city government has been established the population of Boston has increased from about 45,000 to 362,535; more than eight fold. About 215,000 persons live within the area covered by the first city charter; and 147,500 persons live on the territory which has been annexed since 1867. The current expenses of the city in 1822 amounted to $249,000; in 1880 the appropriations for current expenses, including interest on the city debt, amounted to $10,190,387, — a forty-fold increase. The valuation of property for purposes of taxation amounted in 1823 to $44,896,800; in 1880, to $639,462,495, — an increase of about fourteen-fold. The highest valuation of taxable property, $798,755,050, and the largest tax levy, $12,045,902, were in 1874, the second year after the great fire, which destroyed about seventy-five million dollars worth of property.

Of the twenty-three persons who have held the office of mayor of Boston, thirteen were born in the city; all of them were born in New England; eleven were graduates of Harvard College, and three were graduates of other colleges. Some of them have been men of distinction; most of them have been men of ability; no one of them has retired from office with any stain resting upon his character. The city has been fortunate in the character of the men who have served her, both in the legislative and executive departments of the government. The high standard of official integrity which has been maintained is largely due to the efforts of those citizens who have associated from time to time to resist the introduction of national party politics into the management of the city business. They have for many years held the balance of power between the two great political parties, and they have kept the leaders of both in wholesome fear of the consequences of making appointments to office for party purposes, or of using the city's money to promote party interests.

James M. Bugbee

piece to the Franklin statue, and unveiled Oct. 11, 1879. See Mayor Prince's address, *City Document*, 115, 1879. In 1879 the aldermen contracted for copies in bronze of the two representative statues of Massachusetts in the capitol at Washington,—Samuel Adams, by Miss Anne Whitney, and John Winthrop, by Richard S. Greenough,—the expense of making them to be charged to the income from the Phillips Fund. The statue of Adams was unveiled July 4, 1880. See oration by Robert D. Smith, Esq., *City Document*, 103, 1880. A portion of the income from this fund was also used to beautify the lot of land at the junction of Columbus Avenue and Pleasant Street, on which there is the group emblematical of Emancipation, presented to the city in 1879, by Mr. Moses Kimball. See *City Document* 126, 1879.

[1] See *City Document*, 1880, containing a full account of the celebration, prepared by Mr. William H. Lee.

CHAPTER III.

BOSTON AND THE COMMONWEALTH UNDER THE CITY CHARTER.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN D. LONG, LL.D.,

Governor of Massachusetts.

THE subject of this chapter has its beginning in the presentation to the General Court of the following petition:[1] —

"The undersigned, being a Committee authorized and instructed by the Town of Boston, most respectfully represent —

"That the present size of the Town renders it impossible any longer to carry into effect the principles on which its present government is founded, as this is presumed to be exercised by the inhabitants at large, assembled in Town-meeting. There is no Hall in the Town capable of containing all the legal voters; and if such a room existed its dimensions would be too extensive to admit of wise conceit or true deliberation by the citizens. The duty of attending Town-meetings is therefore becoming more and more neglected; and a very small minority of persons now decide upon the public concerns of the whole community. The consequences are a want of unity, regularity, and responsibility in the management of the prudential affairs of the Town. The evils of such a state of things have been hitherto diminished by the intelligence, prudence, and integrity of the different Boards that have been separately entrusted with the management of various branches of Town affairs, yet no skill nor integrity can supply the deficiencies of the present system, which oblige the Town so frequently to trouble the Legislature with applications for minute local regulation. Trusting that the Town may continue to partake in the growing prosperity of the Commonwealth with which its own is so inseparably and entirely blended, the time must soon arrive when the inconveniences and losses incident to an impracticable form of government will be greatly and oppressively increased. The experience of actual disadvantages, together with a principle of foresight, have convinced a majority of the citizens that the present moment of calm in the public mind is a suitable one to adopt an alteration which will be not only a present relief, but a preventive remedy for dangerous tendencies. As the citizens of this State, with a view to this case, have recently made an amendment to the Constitution authorizing the erection of city governments, the

[1] [For the proceedings of the town leading to this petition, see Mr. Bugbee's chapter next preceding. — ED.]

necessity of some change, it would appear, has become obvious not only to the inhabitants of this Town, but to the majority of the Commonwealth.

"For the reasons thus briefly stated, we pray your honorable Body to establish a City Government for the Town of Boston.

"BOSTON, January 14, 1822.

DANIEL MESSINGER.	WILLIAM SULLIVAN.
CHARLES JACKSON.	GEORGE DARRICOTT.
MICHAEL ROULSTON.	GERRY FAIRBANKS.
ISAAC WINSLOW.	THOMAS BADGER.
GEORGE BLAKE.	JAMES DALEY.
LEMUEL SHAW.	HENRY FARNAM.
W. TUDOR.	WILLIAM STURGIS.
	LEWIS G. PRAY.

This paper is endorsed as follows: —

"In House of Representatives, Jan. 15, 1822. Read and Com'd to the Committee on Incorporation of Towns, etc.

"Sent up for concurrence. JOSIAH QUINCY, *Spkr.*

"In Senate, January 15, 1822. Read and concurred. JOHN PHILLIPS, *Presid't.*"

It is a notable fact that President Phillips became the first, and Speaker Quincy the second, mayor of the new city, — the former filling the office one year, and Mr. Quincy five years. Two other presidents of the Senate have also been mayors of Boston, — one of them, Harrison Gray Otis, president in 1808–10, and mayor in 1829–31; and the other, Josiah Quincy, Jr., president in 1842 and 1844, and mayor in 1846–48. Since then, two mayors of Boston have become governors of the Commonwealth, — Alexander H. Rice, mayor in 1856–57, and governor in 1876–78; and William Gaston, mayor in 1871–72, and governor in 1875. The roll of the Boston Common Council of 1853 contains the names of two men who subsequently rose to the chief magistracy of the State, — Henry J. Gardner and Alexander H. Rice. Chief-Justice Bigelow was a member of the Common Council from Ward Seven in 1843; and the Hon. Joseph A. Pond, president of the Senate in 1866–67, and the Hon. Charles R. Train, late attorney-general of the Commonwealth, saw service in the same body. Before he became mayor, the Hon. Henry L. Pierce was a member of the popular branch of the General Court; and the number of those is legion who have held under both governments less distinguished but honorable offices.

The reciprocal relations of Boston and the Commonwealth under the city charter, strictly interpreted, are purely official in their character, and form a subject of but narrow scope, differing in no principle from those existing between the Commonwealth and her other municipalities. Seeking them in the city charter itself, we find the inhabitants of Boston made a corporation at their own request, and the administration of their fiscal and prudential concerns vested in a mayor, a board of aldermen, and a common council. All the powers formerly vested in the selectmen, either by statute or by the usages, votes, or by-laws of the town, and also the powers of county com-

missioners, are given to the board of aldermen; and the aldermen and common council, acting concurrently as the city council, are endowed with authority to provide for the assessment and collection of taxes for all purposes for which towns may raise money, to appoint various executive officers, and even to make by-laws and ordinances, with fines for breach thereof. But these powers were by no means plenary, and with the increasingly rapid growth of the city came more and more frequent applications for fresh grants. So numerous did these become, that in 1870 the city council constituted a joint standing committee on legislative matters, whose duty it is to advocate or oppose measures at the State House as the city's interest demands. During the session of the General Court of 1879 some thirty matters directly affecting the city of Boston were presented, — eight of them petitions from the city government, — and the average each session for the past ten years has been about twenty-five. The legislation respecting Boston bridges will serve as an example of how much has been required. The Boston South Bridge, now known as the Dover-Street Bridge, was sold to the city by the original proprietors (among whom were William Tudor and Harrison Gray Otis), under an act of the General Court of 1831; and another act was passed in 1876, authorizing the widening of the bridge to sixty feet. The Federal-Street Bridge was established by a corporation (the Boston Free Bridge) created by an act of the General Court under which the city purchased the property. The Mount Washington-Avenue Bridge was acquired by the city under a similar act. The Broadway Bridge was built by the city under chapter 188 of the acts of 1866; the Congress-Street Bridge, under chapter 326 of acts of 1868, and nearly, if not quite, all the smaller bridges were bought from private proprietors under special laws. The Charles-River and Warren bridges were turned over to the cities of Boston and Charlestown by chapter 322 of act of 1868 and acts amendatory thereof. It was by commissioners appointed under chapter 302 of acts of 1870 that the expense of maintaining the West-Boston and Craigie's bridges was apportioned between Boston and Cambridge; and the legislature has been called upon more than once to decide disputes between Boston and Chelsea over the maintenance of the Chelsea bridge. In 1874 acts were passed granting authority for the building of a bridge by Boston and Cambridge, from a point on Beacon Street across the Charles River to Cambridge, and also a bridge to form part of an avenue from Brattle Square, Cambridge, to Market Street, Brighton; but neither has been constructed. The Cochituate water supply, the Boston registration and election laws, and hundreds of matters, ranging in moment from the purity of the ballot-box to the regulation of street-corner peanut-stands, have been subjects of legislation, the briefest history of which is too voluminous to attempt within these limits.

The great fire of Nov. 9 and 10, 1872, was the occasion of a special session of the General Court, which convened November 19. His Excellency Governor Washburn, in his address to the Legislature, said: —

"The loss of Boston is the loss of the Commonwealth. Our ties are such that this calamity affects even those of us who live in the remotest parts of the State. The municipal government of the city and a large number of its most eminent business men think that a few measures of immediate legislation are necessary. So far as I am informed, or can learn, the universal sentiment of those who reside or do business here is that they are abundantly able to meet the stress of the time from the resources now at their command, if they can have the assent of the State to such steps as require its sanction. It is thought advisable that assurance of a loan for a term of years at a moderate rate of interest should be given those who are unable to rebuild without assistance. . . . It is of the greatest importance that the waste places should be recovered as soon as possible with stores and warehouses of the most substantial kind, fully adapted to the requirements of a large and widely extended trade. As a means to this end the city will ask authority to issue its bonds, having not less than ten years to run, and bearing a rate of interest not exceeding five per centum in gold, or six per centum in currency."

The session lasted thirty days. A bill was passed authorizing the city to issue bonds to the amount of $20,000,000, with interest at five per cent gold and six per cent currency, to run fifteen years; the proceeds to be loaned to owners of sites of burned buildings. No bonds were issued, however, the act being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. A general law, authorizing the formation of new insurance companies was enacted, with considerable other legislation concerning insurance. The act for the regulation and inspection of buildings in Boston was amended extensively, — thicker walls, with brick, iron, or stone supports, being required, and the law being made generally more stringent, and the penalties for its violation heavier. Acts were also passed requiring the board of aldermen to establish a grade of not less than twelve feet above mean low water, and prohibiting the construction of any cellar below that grade, and the use of any such cellar except for storage purposes under license from the board of aldermen; authorizing the city council to remove the Coliseum Building [1] if not taken down within a reasonable time; incorporating the Merchant's Exchange; to provide for the appointment by the governor and council of a commission of three civil engineers to investigate and report a plan for a thorough system of drainage for Boston and its vicinity within a radius of ten miles from the City Hall; [2] to provide for the issue of bonds in lieu of lost or destroyed bonds of the Commonwealth; to authorize the Old South Church proprietors to lease their meeting-house on Washington and Milk streets for use as a post-office.

But while the city has been constantly requiring legislation, it has sustained a very different relation to the Commonwealth in point of contributions to the support of the State government. In 1822 Boston paid $26,550.50 of the State tax of $75,000, or more than thirty-five per cent.

[1] This was a wooden structure near the crossing of the Boston and Albany, and Boston and Providence Railroads, erected for the musical festival of 1872.

[2] This act was conditional on the acceptance of the Boston City Council, and as no action was taken thereon the commission was never appointed.

At a rough calculation, the population of the State at that time was 550,000, and that of Boston about 50,000, or less than ten per cent of the whole. The United States census of 1830 found 610,408 inhabitants in Massachusetts, and 61,392 — a little more than ten per cent — in Boston, while the city paid that year $24,874.50, or over thirty-three per cent of the State tax of $75,000. Comparing the statistics on these points in later years, we find that in 1860, with a population of 177,840 in the State total of 1,231,066, — less than fifteen per cent, — the city paid $82,245 of the State tax of $249,995, which is over thirty-three per cent. In 1870 the population of the State was 1,457,351, and of the city 250,526, or seventeen per cent, while the city's share of the State tax was $933,775, or thirty-seven per cent of the total of $2,500,000. The present year its portion of the State tax was even larger, being $619,110 out of $1,500,000, or more than forty-one per cent. The returns of the United States census for 1880 give the State a population of 1,783,086, and the city 362,535, or a little less than twenty and a half per cent of the whole.

The representation of Boston in the General Court has been substantially, of course, in proportion to its population. The city's delegation in 1822 consisted of 6 senators in a Senate of 30, and 25 members in a House of Representatives numbering 236. The senators were John Phillips, John Willis, Jonathan Hunnewell, Warren Dutton, Lemuel Shaw, and Joseph Tilden; and the representatives were Josiah Quincy, Benjamin Russell, Thomas H. Perkins, William Prescott, William Tudor, Lynde Walter, James Savage, Benjamin West, Nathan Appleton, John Cotton, Gedney King, Enoch Silsby, Peter C. Brooks, Joseph Lovering, George W. Otis, Nathan Hale, Jonathan Phillips, Heman Lincoln, Edward Winchester, Francis C. Gray, Theodore Lyman, Jr., Henry Bass, Eliphalet Williams, William Shimmin, and Francis J. Oliver.

We find in the lists of the successors of these gentlemen the names of Samuel T. Armstrong, David Sears, Francis Jackson, David Henshaw, David Lee Child, Caleb Loring, Horace Mann, Theophilus Parsons, Robert C. Winthrop, George S. Hillard, Joseph T. Buckingham, George T. Curtis, John P. Healy, Charles Francis Adams, George T. Bigelow, John G. Palfrey, Samuel A. Eliot, Samuel G. Howe, and J. Lothrop Motley; and among the delegates from the city to the Constitutional Convention of 1853 were William Appleton, James M. Beebe, Sidney Bartlett, Jacob Bigelow, George W. Blagden, Rufus Choate, Francis B. Crowninshield, Samuel A. Eliot, Henry J. Gardner, Nathan Hale, George S. Hillard, Frederick W. Lincoln, Jr., J. Thomas Stevenson, John S. Tyler, and George B. Upton.

Between 1822 and 1857 Boston had 6 senators. The first apportionment under Article XXI. and XXII. amendments to the Constitution reduced the number to 5; but the second, in 1866, restored it to 6; and the third, in 1876, increased it to 8. One senator, however, has always been shared with Chelsea, Revere (or North Chelsea), and Winthrop.

Down to 1857 the numerical strength of the House of Representatives varied largely, and with it, though not in proportion, the delegation from Boston. In 1823 and 1824 the city had 25 members, and in 1825 24 in a House of 236; in 1826, 20 in 197; in 1827, 16 in 236; in 1828, 40 in 395; in 1829, 55 in 539; in 1830, 59 in 493; in 1831, 60 in 481; in 1832, 52 in 528; in 1833, 63 in 574; in 1834, 39 in 570; in 1835, 67 in 615; in 1836, 70 in 619; in 1837, 74 in 635; in 1838, 57 in 480; in 1839, 20 in 521; in 1840, 56 in 521; in 1841, 35 in 391. From 1842 to 1850, inclusive, the Boston delegation numbered 35, but the number of the whole House varied in these years as follows: 336, 352, 321, 271, 264, 255, 272, 263, 297. In 1851 and 1852 Boston had 44 representatives in Houses of 396 and 402 respectively; in 1853, 39 in 288; and from 1854 to 1857, inclusive, 44 in 310, 380, 329, and 327. Since then the House has consisted of 240 members, of which, under the first apportionment, Boston had 26; under the second, 33; and has under the third, and at present, 47.

The changes in the size of the House of Representatives between 1822 and 1857 were incident to the somewhat complicated system of apportionment, and the several apparent discrepancies in the proportion of the Boston delegation are but the natural results of the majority rule then in use. For instance, in 1838 the Boston City Council voted in convention, in accordance with the original charter, to fix the number of representatives to be elected that fall at 56; but at the election on the second Monday in November only 20 received a majority, and at the election to fill the 36 vacancies none at all, so that in 1839 the city was represented in the lower branch of the General Court by only 20 men.

A number of notable benevolent and educational institutions located in Boston, although not all exclusively of Boston, are beneficiaries of the Commonwealth. One is the Massachusetts General Hospital, which received with its charter in 1811 a conditional grant of the Province House estate, embracing a tract of land measuring 87 feet on Washington Street, and extending back 267 feet to Province Street. This estate was leased by the Hospital in 1817 for 99 years for what now seems the incredibly low rental of $33,000 for the entire term. In consideration of its grant the State has a representation of 4 members on the board of trustees. The Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind receives a regular annual grant of $30,000, and the School for Idiots and Feeble-Minded Youth $17,500; for which, however, the State receives a partial return in the education and care of some of its charges, and has also representatives on the supervisory boards. Special grants are made from year to year to other institutions, particularly the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, which received $9,000 at the hands of the last legislature. The sites of the buildings of the Boston Society of Natural History and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are the gift of the Commonwealth, so that the bread which Boston cast upon the waters in giving the Commonwealth the State-House site came back to it after many days; and by a

resolve of the legislature of 1880 the city of Boston was granted "perpetual right to hold, occupy, and control, free of rent or charge," a parcel of land at the corner of Boylston and Dartmouth streets, containing some 33,000 feet, for the erection of a new public library building.

The improvement by the Commonwealth of its Back Bay lands and the South Boston flats has of necessity required the co-operation of the city government in the extension of streets and the building of bridges and sewers. Under what is known as the tripartite agreement between the Commonwealth, the city, and the Boston Water-Power Company, the Back Bay territory was divided, some 108 acres going to the Commonwealth, and an equal quantity to the Water-Power Company, — the city to receive a small quantity of the land when filled, in satisfaction of certain claims. The Commonwealth and the Water-Power Company filled their respective portions to a certain grade, devoting a suitable proportion of the new land to streets and passage-ways, in which they laid sewers and set edgestones, while the city paved and maintains the streets and ways. The Commonwealth completed its filling at a cost of something over $1,600,000, and has disposed of all but about 3 acres. Nearly 145,000 feet were given for the sites of the buildings of the Natural History Society and the Institute of Technology, about 6,500 feet transferred to Trinity Church, 164,000 to the city, and over 2,000,000 devoted to streets and passage-ways. The sale of the remainder has netted the State, in round numbers, $3,000,000, furnishing a notable exception to the ordinary results of State management of business enterprises. In the improvement of the South Boston flats, yet incomplete, special relations exist between the State and the city, under the four-part agreement between the Commonwealth, the Boston and Albany Railroad, the Boston Wharf Company, and the city of Boston, the other parties doing certain filling, and the city agreeing to build two bridges across Fort Point Channel to connect the new land with the old. One of these, the Congress-Street bridge, is constructed, but the other awaits the filling of the land to which it is to furnish access. The magnificent area already here rescued from the ocean is guarded by a great sea-wall, girt with railroad tracks, and improved by the warehouses, elevators, and coal-sheds of the New York and New England Railroad. The process of filling is still going on, and will only stop when Castle Island is reached. Lying at deep water, and in the very heart of the city, these improvements will make a port for Massachusetts of unrivalled capacity and promise for the future.

There are judicial decisions touching the relations between the Commonwealth and cities which, though not particularly affecting Boston, are of sufficient general interest to deserve mention. One, in the case of Buttrick *v.* Lowell (1 Allen, 172), concerns the liability of a city for injurious acts of its police officers. Says the court: —

"Police officers can in no sense be regarded as agents or servants of the city. Their duties are of a public nature. Their appointment is devolved on cities and towns

by the legislature as a convenient mode of exercising a function of government; but this does not render them liable for their unlawful or negligent acts. The . . . powers and duties with which police officers and constables are entrusted are derived from the law, and not from the city or town under which they hold their appointment. . . . Nor does it make any difference that the acts complained of were done in an attempt to enforce an ordinance or by-law of the city. The authority to enact by-laws is delegated to the city by the sovereign power, and the exercise of the authority gives to such enactments the same force and effect as if they had been passed directly by the legislature. They are public laws of a local and limited operation, designed to secure good order and to provide for the welfare and comfort of the inhabitants. In their enforcement, therefore, police officers act in their public capacity, and not as the agents or servants of the city."

Boston has several military organizations bearing peculiar relations to the Commonwealth. First is the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, dating back two hundred and forty-three years, in whose ranks have marched governors, judges of the supreme court, senators, and generals, and whose officers are to this day invested with the badges of their authority by the Governor in person. Next in order of seniority is the First Corps of Cadets, the Governor's body-guard, whose first tour of duty was to escort William Shirley, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, on a visit to the Colony of Rhode Island in 1741. It was at first known as the Independent Company of Cadets, and as such was commanded by John Hancock in 1774. Hancock was summarily dismissed from the command by Governor Gage in a letter (still preserved in the archives of the corps), on the receipt of which the company promptly gave up the Governor's standard, and informed him that the dismissal of their first officer was equivalent to disbandment. The company thereupon disbanded, but did not become extinct, reviving in 1776 under the name of the "Independent Company," and reorganized under its present charter in 1786.

Another of Boston's famous corps is the National Lancers, whose gay uniforms and fluttering pennons have for so many years given a touch of color and picturesqueness to the Governor's Commencement Day procession from Boston to Cambridge.

There are other Boston military companies having a long and honorable record, — the "Tigers," the school of Boston soldiers since 1798, and the "Fusiliers," who had the honor of being Governor Hancock's body-guard on general election day in 1792; but the "Ancients," the "Cadets," and the "Lancers" alone bear at present any exceptional relationship to the Commonwealth. Massachusetts will never forget, however, the days when every Boston military organization represented her; and there is hardly a field of battle in the South whose story does not tell how gallantly they bore her flag, and how proudly they sustained her martial fame.

It is significant that the Commonwealth has placed as her fittest representatives in the national gallery at Washington the statues of two men of Boston. As in the days of Winthrop and Sam Adams, so Boston stands

now, a representative of Massachusetts. It represents in its myriad manufactories, mills, and workshops, and in the well-tilled and fertile fields which lie about it, the varied industries of the State. It represents in its marts, in its busy stores and massive warehouses, the enterprise and solidity of her trades. It represents in its fifty millions of bank capital, and in the character of its financiers, her pecuniary wealth and stability. It represents in its fifty millions of savings-bank deposits the thrift and economy of her people. In its hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions it represents the benevolent and public spirit for which Massachusetts is pre-eminently distinguished. It represents in its public schools the best results of that system of popular education which is one of the Commonwealth's chief glories, and in its higher institutions of learning her best scholarship and broadest culture. In its pulpits it represents the devoutness and the zeal of the olden time, with the toleration and liberality of the later. In whatever constitutes the prosperity of Massachusetts, Boston stands her worthy representative; and there is hardly a school-house or a fireside in the Commonwealth that has not contributed to the population, the character, the enterprise, and the good name of this its capital city.

[NOTE. — The Editor is indebted to Captain A. A. Folsom for a list of the commanders of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company; and of the one hundred and seventy-one commanders from 1638 to 1880, forty-seven have been residents of Boston and Suffolk County, as follows: —

Capt William Alexander, 1806; Capt. Bozoun Allen, 1696; Maj.-Gen. Humphrey Atherton, 1650, 1658; Lieut. Edwin C. Bailey, 1862, 1871; Col. John Ballentine, 1703, 1710; Capt. Samuel Barrett, 1771; Capt. Jonas S. Bass, 1800; Maj. William Bell, 1774, 1786; Col. George Tyler Bigelow, 1846; Maj. George Blanchard, 1805; Capt. Edmund Bowman, 1807: Maj. Martin Brimmer, 1826; Maj. Francis Brinley, 1848, 1852, 1858; Capt. John Carnes, 1649; Lieut.-Col John Carnes, 1748; Maj. George O. Carpenter, 1868; Col. Samuel Checkley, 1700; Capt. Joshua Cheever, 1741; Col. Thomas E. Chickering, 1857; Capt. Thomas Clark, 1796; Maj. Thomas Clarke, 1653, 1665; Capt Thomas Clarke, Jr., 1673; Maj. Moses G. Cobb, 1855; Brig.-Gen Robert Cowdin, 1863; Maj. Andrew Cunningham, 1793; Maj. James Cunningham, 1768; Capt. Nathaniel Cunningham, 1731; Brig.-Gen. Amasa Davis, 1795; Brig.-Gen. Thomas Davis, 1835; Capt. William Davis, 1664, 1672; Col. Thomas Dawes, Jr., 1766, 1773; Brig.-Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, 1816; Maj. Thomas Dean, 1819; Maj. Louis Dennis, 1838; Col. William Downe, 1732, 1744; Lieut.-Gov. William Dummer, 1719; Capt. Thomas Edwards, 1753; Col. Thomas Fitch, 1708, 1720, 1725; Maj. Dexter H. Follett, 1874; Capt. Albert A. Folsom, 1876; Capt James A. Fox, 1864; Capt. Theophilus Frary, 1682; Lieut.-Col. Jonas H. French, 1861; Capt. Lemuel Gardner, 1803; Col. Robert Gardner, 1799; Capt. Martin Gay, 1772; Col. Daniel L. Gibbens, 1824; Maj.-Gen. Edward Gibbons, 1639, 1641, 1646, 1654; Maj Alex. Hamilton Gibbs, 1823; Capt. John Greenough, 1726; Maj. Newman Greenough, 1758; Capt. Ralph Hart, 1754; Capt. Thomas

Hawkins, 1644; Maj.-Gen. William Heath, 1770; Lieut.-Col. Daniel Henchman, 1738, 1746; Maj. Joseph L. Henshaw, 1865; Col. Sir Charles Hobby, 1702, 1713; Capt. Melzar Holmes, 1808; Capt. William Homes, 1764; Capt. William Howe, 1814; Capt. William Hudson, 1661; Capt. John Hull, 1671, 1678; Col. Thomas Hunting, 1827; Capt. Edward Hutchinson, 1657; Col. Edward Hutchinson, 1717, 1724, 1730; Col. Elisha Hutchinson, 1676, 1684, 1690, 1697; Col. Thomas Hutchinson, 1704, 1718; Col. Joseph Jackson, 1752; Capt. Robert Jenkins, 3d, 1790; Capt. Isaac Johnson, 1667; Capt. Robert Keayne, 1638, 1647; Capt. Samuel Keeling, 1716; Capt. Thomas Lake, 1662, 1674; Maj.-Gen. Sir John Leverett, 1652, 1663, 1670; Col. Benjamin Loring, 1818; Capt. Caleb Lyman, 1739; Brig.-Gen. Theodore Lyman, Jr., 1822; Col. Charles A. Macomber, 1839; Col. Thomas Marshall, 1763, 1767; Gen. Aug. P. Martin, 1878; Capt. Edward Martyn, 1715; Capt. Hugh McDaniel, 1750; Col. Daniel Messenger, 1804, 1810; Capt. Francis Norton, 1655; Capt. James Oliver, 1656, 1666; Capt. Peter Oliver, 1669; Lieut.-Col. Peter Osgood, 1809; Col. Nicholas Paige, 1695; Maj. John C. Park, 1853; Maj. James Phillips, 1802; Col. John Phillips, 1685; Col. John Phillips, 1747, 1759; Capt. Parker H. Pierce, 1830; Col. Edward Gordon Prescott, 1833; Lieut.-Col. Josiah Quincy, Jr., 1829; Brig.-Gen. John H. Reed, 1866; Capt. John Roulstone, 1815; Maj. Benjamin Russell, 1801, 1812; Lieut.-Col. George P. Sanger, 1854; Capt. Ephraim Savage, 1683; Lieut.-Col. Habijah Savage, 1711, 1721, 1727; Maj. Thomas Savage, 1651, 1659, 1668, 1675, 1680; Col. Thomas Savage, Jr., 1705; Capt. Thomas Savage, 1757; Maj.-Gen. Robert Sedgwick, 1640, 1643, 1648; Maj. Samuel Sewall, 1701; Maj. Samuel Sewall, 2d, 1734; Col. Samuel Shrimpton, 1694; Col. Amasa G. Smith, 1837; Capt. Thomas Smith, 1722; Capt. John L. Stevenson, 1877; Col. Ebenezer W. Stone, 1841; Capt. Ebenezer Storer, 1749; Lieut.-Col. Israel Stoughton, 1642; Brig.-Gen. William H. Sumner, 1821; Lieut.-Col. John Symmes, 1755, 1761; Maj. Charles W. Stevens, 1880; Col. William Tailor, 1712; Col. William Tailor, 1760; Lieut.-Col. Newell A. Thompson, 1843; Capt. Onesiphorus Tilestone, 1762; Capt. Samuel Todd, 1797; Col. Penn Townsend, 1681, 1691, 1698, 1709, 1723; Brig.-Gen. John S. Tyler, 1832, 1844, 1847, 1860; Lieut.-Gen. John Walley, 1679, 1699, 1707; Capt. Josiah Waters, 1769; Col. Josiah Waters, Jr., 1791; Capt. Samuel Watts, 1742; Capt John Welch, 1756; Brig.-Gen. Arnold Welles, 1811; Capt. George Welles, 1820; Col. Jacob Wendell, 1735, 1745; Col. John Wendell, 1740; Col. Jonathan Whitney, 1813; Col. Marshall P. Wilder, 1856; Capt. Jonathan William, Jr., 1751; Capt. John Wing, 1693; Col. Edward Winslow, 1714, 1729; Brig.-Gen. John Winslow, 1792, 1798; Lieut.-Col. Adam Winthrop, 1706; Brig.-Gen. Grenville T. Winthrop, 1834; Brig.-Gen. John T. Winthrop, 1825; Maj.-Gen. Wait Winthrop, 1692; Capt. Richard Woodde, 1677; Col. Isaac Hull Wright, 1850; Col. Edward Wyman, 1872; Col. Charles W. Wilder, 1879. — Ed.]

CHAPTER IV.

BOSTON SOLDIERY IN WAR AND PEACE.

BY GENERAL FRANCIS W. PALFREY.

DURING the eighteenth century Boston could hardly be called a growing town. There were fluctuations in the number of its people; but it is not far out of the way to set that number at twenty thousand as an average from 1700 to 1800.[1] By the census of 1810 its population was given as 33,250. As had been the case almost from the earliest days of the settlement, so in the beginning of the nineteenth century, its citizens were largely dependent upon commerce for their prosperity. The state of things existing upon the continent of Europe was very prejudicial to that commerce. In common with the other residents of the seaboard, the citizens of Boston complained especially of wrongs to commerce from the British orders in council, and the retaliating French decrees. Great Britain refused to admit that free ships made free goods, and that arms and military stores alone were contraband of war, and that ship-timber and naval stores were excluded from that description. The British practice of impressing our seamen, and of capturing American vessels bound to or returning from ports where her commerce was not favored, was also a standing grievance. From such causes the state of feeling in Massachusetts at the beginning of the year 1812 was far from placid. In a general way it may be said that the Federalists were opposed to war; but though strong in New England they were weak in Congress. They had, however, always favored a navy; but the other great political party, the Democrats or Republicans, opposed this, till the naval victories of 1812 caused them to change their minds. It was

[1] [There are a few notes in Whitman's *Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, p. 324, on the general apathy in militia matters immediately following upon the peace, and on the impulse to militia organization which took place in Boston at the time of the Shays Rebellion. As a result of this movement the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company renewed their meetings, which had been omitted since 1775; the Corps of Cadets was reorganized, with Samuel Bradford for commander; the Republican Volunteers (infantry), and a light infantry company, Harrison Gray Otis commander; the Massachusetts Fusileers, Captain William Turner, — all began their history, not all to continue long. A cavalry company was raised, with Rufus G. Amory as captain; followed by the Boston Dragoons, Captain Henry Purkitt, who had been of Pulaski's Cavalry Corps in the Revolution. Some years later (1803) when Governor Strong brigaded the Suffolk Militia, prominent among them were the Washington Light Infantry, Captain Loring; the Boston Light Infantry, Captain Henry Sargent; and the Winslow Blues, Captain Messenger. — ED.]

understood that the President of the United States, Mr. Madison, was anxious to avoid war, but that he was also anxious to secure a renomination; and it was believed that he might think the support of the more fiery spirits, like Clay and Calhoun, necessary for his ends, and that he might determine to purchase their support by consenting to war. The war feeling was naturally weak on our unprotected seaboard, and stronger in the interior. Even in Massachusetts, however, public opinion was much divided. In January, 1812, a motion was lost in our Senate by a single vote for a call on the Government for information about impressment; about the employment of ministerial printers to aid in destroying our own, and in establishing over us a British government; about plots for incendiary fires, and threats of assassination. In the same month, however, the Senate appears to have concurred with the House in ordering that the Secretary of the Commonwealth should give any certificate which might be necessary to procure the release of American seamen, free of any charge.

On Feb. 24, 1812, at a meeting of the selectmen of the town of Boston, there was presented an application from a number of gentlemen styling themselves a committee from the Republican Convention of the County of Suffolk, requesting the use of Faneuil Hall on the first Thursday of March following. Thereupon it was voted —

"That the selectmen are not acquainted with the existence of any such public body, and as the hall was built and enlarged for the use of the town, they cannot consent that it should be occupied for any purposes which in their opinion would not meet the approbation of the town."

On the 4th of April, Congress passed an act laying an embargo for ninety days from and after the passage of the act on all ships and vessels in the ports and places within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States, cleared or not cleared, bound to any foreign port or place; with a proviso permitting the departure of foreign vessels, either in ballast, or with the goods, etc., on board the same, when notified of the act.

On the 10th of the same month, Congress passed an act authorizing the President of the United States to require of the executive of the several States and Territories to take effectual measures to organize, arm, and equip according to law, and hold in readiness to march at a moment's warning, their respective proportions of one hundred thousand militia. Early in June the Massachusetts House of Representatives, upon the motion of Mr. Putnam, of Salem, —

"*Resolved*, as the opinion of this House, that an offensive war against Great Britain, under the present circumstances of this country, would be in the highest degree impolitic, unnecessary, and ominous; and that the great body of the people of this Commonwealth are decidedly opposed to this measure, which they do not believe to be demanded by the honor or interest of the nation; and that a committee be appointed to prepare a respectful petition to Congress to be presented, praying them to avert a calamity so greatly to be deprecated, and by the removal of commercial restrictions to

restore so far as depends on them the benefits of trade and navigation, which are indispensable to the prosperity and comfort of the people of this Commonwealth."

This resolution was passed by a vote of four hundred and two to two hundred and seventy-eight, and the address reported in accordance therewith was adopted by a vote of four hundred and six to two hundred and forty; but a protest, signed by one hundred and eighty-six members of the House, was presented and placed on file. The Senate concurred, and thereupon the Legislature of Massachusetts sent to Congress a memorial against the war.[1] The counsels of those who favored war prevailed, however, and on the 18th of June the President of the United States signed the bill declaring war; and on the 23d of the same month the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts delivered to the Senate of that State a message from the Governor, communicating a letter from the Honorable James Lloyd, a senator from Massachusetts, covering a declaration of war against Great Britain. Thereupon the House appointed a committee to consider the question of passing a resolve requesting the Governor to appoint a Fast "in consequence of the great and distressing calamity of the late unexpected Declaration of War." Two days after, the House, one hundred and forty-nine to three, ordered accordingly, "On account of the great and distressing calamity which God in his holy Providence has permitted to be brought on the people of these United States."

Thus the United States of America were at war with Great Britain, and Boston was one of the most important seaport towns of the United States. Besides the forces of the General Government, Massachusetts had her own militia to look to; and, so far as names were concerned, this was an important force. The whole male population, substantially, between the ages of eighteen and forty, was enrolled in the militia. The militia was arranged into seventeen divisions,[2] and a major-general for each was chosen from time to time by the Senate and House of Representatives, and publicly qualified with much form. A brigade under the law of Congress was composed of four regiments, each of two battalions of five companies, and each company of sixty-four privates. The efficiency of much of this force was little more than nominal. The defences of the harbor were then as follows:[3] —

On Castle Island stood Fort Independence, a name given, in place of the earlier designation retained from the Provincial times, on the occasion of the visit of President John Adams, in August, 1799. The first stone of the new Fort Independence was laid May 7, 1801, and the whole superstructure was raised from an original design. The work was a barbette fortification, and its dimensions were not materially different from those of the present Fort In-

[1] [See Mr. Lodge's chapter in this volume for a statement of the feeling in Boston respecting the war. — ED.]

[2] Four of which were mostly in what is now the State of Maine. See the *Report* of the Committee of the Council, upon which action was taken in revoking the organization of all divisions after the thirteenth, prior to Aug. 6, 1812.

[3] For much of my information upon this point I am indebted to the courtesy of General H. G. Wright, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.

dependence. On June 23, 1802, the national colors were first displayed on the new fort, and the workmen were dismissed in January, 1803.[1]

On the summit of Governor's Island stood Fort Warren, an enclosed star fort, built of stone, brick, and sod, with a brick barrack for seventy men, and a cellar under it, 65 by 20, for provisions, etc. It had also a brick officers' quarters, a brick magazine, and a brick guard-house.

On the south side of Governor's Island was Fort Warren Battery, built of brick, stone, and sod, with a brick guard-house for fifteen men, and a brick magazine. This battery was to mount fifteen cannon, and to have a block-house in its rear.

On the point formed by the Charles and Mystic Rivers was Charlestown Point Battery, built of sod, with a stone foundation. In it ten pieces of heavy cannon might be mounted.[2]

In pursuance of the Act of Congress providing for calling out the militia, a requisition was made upon the Governor of Massachusetts for the quota of that State. Thereupon a Committee of the House of Representatives reported an address which contained these words: "If your sons must be torn from you by conscriptions, consign them to the care of God; but let there be no volunteers except for defensive war." The address of the Senate to the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was a shade more national in its tone. "Let our young men who compose the militia," it said, "be ready to march at a moment's warning to any part of our shores in defence of our coast."

The call for the militia led Governor Strong of Massachusetts to ask the Justices of the Supreme Court for their opinion upon certain questions to which the call gave rise. His request was dated Aug. 1, 1812, and the judges thereupon gave their opinion that commanders-in-chief of the militia of the several States had a right to determine whether any of the exigencies contemplated by the Constitution of the United States existed, so as to require them to place the militia or any part of it in the service of the United States, at the request of the President, to be commanded by him pursuant to acts of Congress. They also advised him that when any such exigencies existed, authorizing the employment of the militia of the United States, the militia thus employed could not lawfully be commanded by any officers but those of the militia, except by the President of the United States.[3]

[1] The five bastions of the new work were named Winthrop, Shirley, Hancock, Adams, and Dearborn. Under Governor Winthrop the first fort on the island had been built; Governor Shirley had repaired and added to Castle William, and made the post the strongest fort in British America; under Governor Hancock new works were thrown up; President Adams gave the name of Fort Independence to the fort, and under General Dearborn, Secretary of War, the new Fort Independence was built.

[2] It should be stated that this account of the works on Charlestown Point and Governor's Island is taken from a report made in 1808, by Major J. G. Swift, of the Engineers; and it is assumed that these works remained unchanged in the war of 1812, or at least undiminished. [See also the report of Jonathan Williams and Alexander Macomb, abstracted in Lossing's *Pictorial Fieldbook of the War of* 1812, p. 235. — Ed.]

[3] As early as the 8th of July of this year, at a meeting of the selectmen of the town of Boston, the chairman was desired to confer with General

On the 30th of August in this year Hull arrived in Boston, and gladdened the people by the news of the capture of the "Guerrière," and received their welcome. On the 16th of September following, fifteen thousand cartridges were ordered by the selectmen, and on the 23d of October the Senate passed a resolve for the purchase of gunpowder and other military stores, and for building a suitable storehouse for the same.

On Jan. 20, 1813, on the application of the officers of a company called the Rangers, newly raised in Boston, an armory was assigned for their use; but the record does not indicate that the company was raised for the reason that the country was at war.[1]

In February following, the Senate and House concurred in resolves authorizing the Governor to adopt defensive measures to protect the towns and shores of the Commonwealth and the town and harbor of Boston; but the Senate at the same time refused to pass a resolve of the House calling on towns to return the number of seamen impressed.

The General Court had appropriated $100,000 for the purpose of placing the ports and harbors of this Commonwealth in a better state of security; but the House at this time pronounced the sum inadequate, asserted the duty of the General Government in that regard, under Article IV. section 4 of the Constitution of the United States, declared that the General Government had neglected that duty, and directed that representation thereof be made to it, with a request for an appropriation and for garrisons.

In March of this year there were services at King's Chapel to commemorate the victories of the Russians over Napoleon, who aimed, it was said, at the empire of the world. It is to be remembered that the headquarters of the "Peace Party" were at Boston. The spring elections in New England showed decided gains for that party. The town of Boston or its selectmen appear to have taken steps in April, 1813, on the application of General Brooks, for a conference between the Governor and the selectmen with a view to local defence; but the record does not show that anything came of it. On May 12 it was provided that the New-England Guards — a Boston company — should have an armory.

At this time affairs in Boston were much depressed by reason of the existing state of war. At the close of May the "Shannon" and the "Tenedos" were watching our harbor; and on June 1 the "Shannon" captured the American ship "Chesapeake."[2] In these months of May and June there seems to

Welles, and to consult him upon the proper measures to prevent the practice of drumming in the streets after sunset; and on the 11th of August following, on the report of a committee appointed at a town-meeting held shortly before in favor of patrols, lights in windows, etc., the selectmen voted accordingly; and, three weeks after, they made somewhat elaborate provisions for a watch, to be composed of a captain and one hundred men, to be on duty till daylight.

[1] [A year or two before, a company of Hussars had been raised in Boston, with Josiah Quincy for captain; and later being formed into a squadron with the Dragoons, Quincy became their major. (E. Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 346.) Whitman records that during the war a company of riflemen was raised in the town, Samuel P. P. Fay commanding it, and that it was disbanded after the peace. There were three militia companies in Charlestown, — the Charlestown Artillery, the Warren Phalanx, and the Light Infantry. — ED.]

[2] [See Admiral Preble's chapter, following this. — ED.]

have been much alarm as well as depression in Boston and in Massachusetts. The commissioners appointed by the Governor in the preceding month of March to carry into effect the resolutions of the General Court for the protection of the town of Boston, its harbor and vicinity, and the towns and ports of the Commonwealth, made their report. The House took action thereon, and appointed a committee to consider means for the restoration of peace, and of restoring the Commonwealth to the blessings of a free and unrestricted commerce, now blighted by the "unhappy war," and adopted a remonstrance to Congress; while the Senate (June 3) used strong language about the General Government, and concurred with the House in appointing commissioners in regard to the defenceless condition of the sea-coast, and for considering what measures it is expedient for this Legislature to adopt in relation to "the unhappy war in which we are engaged," speaking of it as "unjust, unnecessary, and iniquitous," and as "waged without justifiable cause, and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives."

On March 30 in the following year (1814), and before election, the *Columbian Centinel* published an address to the men of Massachusetts, which said: "Your present old captain won't let a Press-gang drag a man of you into Wilkinson's land service. If you want to list, and die of the camp-ail, he won't hinder you, for he wants only true hearts of oak aboard (*i. e.*, aboard the good STRONG ship 'Massachusetts'), that will defend the ship till she conquers or goes down."[1]

On April 19, 1814, the town was alarmed by the report of a number of ships of war off the coast; and in consequence, and at the suggestion of the field officers of the Boston militia, the selectmen met and addressed a letter to the adjutant-general. Two months after, on June 18, the selectmen met commissioners appointed by the Governor and Brigadier-General Welles. The question of victualling and pay was raised. It was decided that the selectmen must subsist the men employed, and that the question of pay should be left to the next General Court. The selectmen promised General Welles that they would attend to any communication from him in reference to provisions and camp equipage.

By June 27 a general sense of alarm prevailed. Commissioners were appointed on the part of the town to confer with Commodore Bainbridge about sinking hulks.[2] They reported two days after that hulks were to be

[1] It does not appear that life in Boston was altogether anxious and dull in the spring of 1814, for we read that Mr. and Miss Holman were then appearing at the theatre in a round of characters, playing *Cymbeline*, *Wives as they Were*, *Alexis*, *The Provoked Husband*, *As You Like It*, *Jane Shore*, etc.; that the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* and the *Bride of Abydos* were for sale in the book-stores, and that Mr. Turner, the dancing-master, was inviting the masters and misses of the period to "trip it lightly while you may" at his academy in Bumstead Place, and promising them instruction even in the plain minuet. A Mr. Atwood was already selling oysters in Water Street; and shell commodes, lion-head ring commodes, fluted clock-balls, bed-caps, and other desirable ware were to be had of W. H. Anderson. [Nor were the demands of war so importunate but that great schemes of tide-water mills could be projected, — as appears by Dearborn's map, February, 1814, given in another chapter, — and even new methods of printing be devised, as that map shows. — ED.]

[2] [See Admiral Preble's chapter. — ED.]

got ready, and that artillery, etc., were ready. It was arranged that ten companies of artillery should come from the neighboring towns at first alarm to co-operate with detachments now made from the Boston militia.

On July 6 Colonel Osgood, commanding detachment of militia on Boston Common, applied for kettles, pans, axes, spades, pint pots, straw, wood, etc. Many of the militia on duty asked for additional compensation, but the board of selectmen were of one mind that it was not expedient to call a town-meeting to consider that question at that time.

On August 3 provision was made for a temporary gun-house on the Common. On the 24th of the same month, on the petition of a number of inhabitants of the town for a town-meeting for defence, the selectmen voted that it was inexpedient; that they had the fullest confidence in the Governor and his commissioners, and that it was not well to excite alarm by calling a meeting, or to seem to distrust the Governor. The petitioners persisted, and thereupon the selectmen voted to print their reasons for declining. On the 30th Boston was threatened; and on September 3 there was a town-meeting, called on the petition of Winslow Lewis and more than ten freeholders, to provide " means of-defence in the present exposed and dangerous situation of this town." The Hon. Thomas Dawes was chosen moderator. The resolutions adopted rehearsed the manifestness of the fact that in the progress of this unhappy war —

"The destruction of the public ships and naval arsenals in the various ports in the United States is a principal object of the enemy ; and therefore this town, notwithstanding its uniform disapprobation of the measures which led to this calamity, and its endeavors to avert it, may be exposed to danger from an enterprise against the ships of war which are now lying in our port, without any adequate means of protection and defence furnished by the General Government."

And presently proceeded: —

" And whereas we believe that the brave and disciplined militia of this and the neighboring counties, which are ready at the shortest notice to repair to any point of attack, will present to an invading foe a superiority in number to any force which is yet known to be upon our coast, — yet as in times of great and imminent danger, extraordinary exertion and alacrity become the duty of the citizen, and it may be acceptable to His Excellency the Governor to receive the assurance that the citizens of Boston in the times which try men's souls are, as they have been, ready to aid by their manual labor and pecuniary contributions, and by all the ways and means in their power, in promoting and making effectual any measure of defence which may be devised by the proper authority, . . . "

then expressed confidence in the Executive, deplored the evils and calamities of war in the production of which they were in no wise instrumental, declared that they — the citizens of Boston — were not dismayed, promised cheerful and cordial co-operation, and that, when in the opinion of the Governor the occasion might require, they would " make prompt

and effective arrangements for the employment of all classes of the citizens in the construction of fortifications or other means of defence, and for obtaining from patriotic individuals voluntary loans and contributions of money to be applied to these objects."

This meeting was followed by volunteer digging. Fort Strong[1] was built at East Boston, on the southerly end of Noddle's Island; a battery was placed on Dorchester Heights, and other defences were prepared at Roxbury and Cambridge.[2]

On September 16, at a meeting of the selectmen, a proposal was made to cut the bridges connecting the peninsula on which the town stood with the main land; and two engine companies were assigned to each bridge, — that is to say, to the Charles River Bridge, the Canal Bridge, West Boston Bridge, and the South Bridge.

On the 19th an address was adopted, calling for patriotic donations; it spoke of exertions "necessary to assist the Government of the State, upon whose protecting arm, under Divine Providence, we wholly depend." The total of the contributions thus obtained seems to have been $11,149.

In a letter from H. H. Dearborn to Thomas H. Perkins, dated Fort Independence, Sept. 25, 1814, the writer says: "On this and Governor's Island there are a sufficient number of men for manning all the works which are now erected or begun." He then speaks of his intention to begin forthwith works planned for the protection of "the defenceless positions on Governor's Island," and says that he will be very glad to receive assistance from the citizens in labor, and recommends that each man should bring a spade, shovel, pick-axe, or wheelbarrow, and that he would be glad to see two or three hundred men on the following Tuesday. He then describes certain works begun and nearly completed by him on both Castle Island and Governor's Island, and says that he has received from the laboratory at Albany fifteen hundred pikes, and sent them to the two garrisons, by

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Isaac H. Cary, Jr., of Brooklyn, New York, for the information that he has in his possession a little blank-book, about the size of an ordinary bank-deposit book, which was found among the papers of the late Isaac Harris, who died at the "North End" of Boston, aged over ninety years, in the year 1868; and he has kindly furnished me with a copy of it, which reads as follows: "Boston, Sept. 8, 1814. The subscribers, Mechanics of the Town of Boston, to evince our readiness to co-operate by manual labor in measures for the Defence of the Town and Naval Arsenal, do hereby tender our services to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to be directed in such manner as he shall consider at this eventful crisis most conducive to the Public Good." Then follow the signatures of about one hundred and fifty names of North-End mechanics. Mr. Cary thinks the paper was without doubt drawn up by Paul Revere, he being the first signer; opposite each name is a statement of the time for which each man agrees to serve. He says that these men were sent by Governor Strong to work on the fortifications on Noddle's Island; and that his father, now eighty years old, and a nephew of Isaac Harris, remembers going there to see his father, who was there at work. Mr. Cary also informs me that the boys from the public and private schools who were able to assist were allowed to be absent from school during school hours. [See also Mr. Lodge's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] It may be remarked that at this time smuggling seems to have been prevalent at Boston. At about this time the selectmen voted, "during the present state of alarm, to attend daily."

the order of Major-General Dearborn, for the defence of the curtains and bastions of the fort and the parapets of the batteries; that all the forts and batteries under his command will, by the next day or day following, have an ample supply of ordnance stores of every kind. He recommends that the Boston and Charlestown Sea-Fencibles be stationed in the batteries to be erected on the east and north sides of Governor's Island, every other week alternately, with their cannon and equipments. He states that two mortars will be placed on Governor's Island, and that furnaces will be ready sufficient to supply with hot shot all the guns which can be brought to bear on ships at the same moment in all the works on the island; that he has written to Commodore Bainbridge to express to him the opinion that if the hulks are immediately sunk, and it is found that the channel is sufficiently obstructed, it will be advisable to have the United States ships "Independence" and "Constitution" moored above them, to co-operate with the garrison. He next informs his correspondent of the signals which have been established to announce the approach of the enemy, and that a guard-boat is sent from Fort Independence every night to a point near the mouth of the harbor, with rockets as signals. He next recommends that the troops which are to reinforce Fort Independence and Fort Warren, in the event of an alarm, be stationed on Dorchester Point, in the old work, with boats in sufficient number for transportation, and a large proportion of field artillery with case shot. He ends his letter by stating that, in the event of an alarm, Major-General Dearborn will assume the command of the two forts, and take the immediate command of one, while the other will be assigned to the writer.

On the 26th the selectmen ordered that a notification as to work on the fortifications be printed. On October 13 another public-defence address was adopted, in regard to the completion of Fort Strong. In the same month a conscription was proposed; and because the Massachusetts militia was not placed under the orders of General Dearborn, the Secretary of State refused to pay the expense of defending Massachusetts from the common enemy. The Legislature of Massachusetts reported in favor of a conference of States.

By November 3 several forts and works about Boston had been erected, and then the danger or the alarm seems to have passed away; and we find no more matter of interest till we read that the "joyful news of peace" arrived, early in the following year, 1815.

The war with Mexico was no more popular in Massachusetts and in Boston than the war of 1812 had been, though the reasons for its unpopularity were entirely different. The war with Mexico was unpopular for the reason that it was regarded as a war in the interest of the Slave-power; and although in the then division of the community into the Whig and Democratic parties, opposition to the institution of Slavery, or to its extension, was not a direct issue, yet a third party,—the party which was afterward

to triumph under the name of Republican, and to annihilate in its rise and progress not only the substance but even the name of the Whig party, — was beginning to make its presence felt, and the citizens of Massachusetts were not inclined to promote a war which was not only distant, but waged for purposes which very many of them did not approve. It was not till the month of May, in the year 1846, that the fact that we were at war with Mexico came directly home to us. On the 19th of that month the Secretary of War enclosed to the Governor of Massachusetts a copy of a recent Act of Congress, providing for the prosecution of the existing war between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, and asking him "to cause to be enrolled, and held in readiness for muster into the service of the United States," one regiment of infantry.

By this time Boston had been for more than twenty years a city, and her population had reached a total of upwards of 115,000 souls.

On May 26 Governor Briggs, of Massachusetts, issued a proclamation which contained the following words: "Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the origin or necessity of a war, the constitutional authorities of the country have declared that war with a foreign country actually exists;" and he called upon the citizen soldiers of Massachusetts to enroll themselves, etc. In the following month of July there was correspondence between the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts and the Secretary of War, in consequence of which further proceedings in relation to the above-mentioned requisition were suspended.

On November 16, in the same year, the Secretary of War renewed the requisition; and by January of the following year a regiment was so far raised that Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, was elected Colonel, Isaac H. Wright, of Roxbury, Lieut.-Colonel, and Edward W. Abbott, of Andover, Major. Among the captains who were, or might be considered, Boston men were Webster,[1] Felt, and Paul, of Boston, and Barker of Charlestown. By February 4 following, the field and staff and non-commissioned staff and eight companies had been mustered, and were ready to receive orders for embarkation, which in due time came; and to Mexico the regiment went. It is understood that the Massachusetts regiment never went into action, in whole or in part. General Orders from the office of the Adjutant-General of the army, dated June 8, 1848, provided that it should be sent direct to Boston; and on the 20th and 21st of the same month the barques "Victory" and "Winthrop" took four hundred and fifty of its members, apparently the whole regiment, from Vera Cruz, bound for New Orleans, on their homeward journey.

To come to the War of Secession. By the census of 1860 the population of Boston was declared to be about 178,000. This total would have been made considerably larger had it included the population of the near neighboring towns and cities, which were almost one with Boston

[1] Captain Edward Webster was a son of Daniel Webster.

commercially and socially, as well as topographically, but were not then, any of them, included within her city limits.[1]

It is seldom if ever easy to look back for twenty years and tell what were then the feelings and state of mind of one's self and one's contemporaries. It is the less easy to do so if the four years which followed the period to which the attention is directed were years of exceptional trial, excitement, and suffering. Of what may have been the general state of mind in Boston in the winter of 1860-61 we do not undertake to speak, but to those who were then in the morning of their days we think that life seemed much as usual, but perhaps a trifle pleasanter, by reason of a slight impression of a sense of romantic possibilities near at hand. The unrest of the South gave a piquancy to existence, such as the officers may have felt at the Duchess of Richmond's ball, the night before Waterloo. Those of us who were less than fifty-five or sixty years old had absolutely no personal knowledge of war, and uniforms and martial music are always attractive; and to those who have never followed the drum, and know nothing of fatigue and wounds and hunger and thirst and strain on the nerves, and the suffering that cold and heat and dust and sleeplessness and the other minor trials of war may bring to the soldier who is neither wounded nor ill, soldiering seems a dashing, fascinating life.

The relation of the city of Boston to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is imperfectly and incompletely indicated by a statement of the population of the one and of the other.[2] Boston was the capital of the State, and that was much; yet that it had always been. But it was much more than that. It was not only the principal city of the State and of New England, but the first without a rival to dispute its pre-eminence. The termini of the great railroad and steamship lines were there. The centre of thought, the mass of wealth, the most active trade and commerce, the leading newspapers were all there; while the improved facilities of the Post Office, supplemented by the electric telegraph, brought it into closer relations with the most distant corner of the Commonwealth than existed between it and Worcester at the time of the war of 1812. The very closeness of the ties which united Boston to the towns of the Commonwealth, whether near or far, — the very prominence of its position as a part of Massachusetts, — make it hard to tell with accuracy what it did towards carrying on the war. Much that was done there was done by other than Boston men. Much that was done there by Boston men was done in the furtherance of the good work in directions which were not distinctly, and in some cases little or not at all, Bostonian. But as in war the last dollar often wins; and as many men are procured, and all are supplied and equipped and supported by money; and as no hostile gun was fired during the war within some

[1] The population of the county of Suffolk, which included, besides the city of Boston, the city of Chelsea and the towns of North Chelsea and Winthrop, was 192,678. The valuation of the county in 1860 was $320,000,000. It is said that Suffolk county furnished for the civil war 28,469 men; but this total includes large numbers of men who served in the navy, and of what were known as "paper credits."

[2] [See Governor Long's chapter. — ED.]

hundreds of miles of Boston; and as neither the whole nor the half of what Boston did in and for the War of Secession can here be told, — there seems to be no better course to follow than to endeavor to tell what money the city raised, and what troops she placed in the field.

As in the war of 1812, so in the period preceding the outbreak of the War of Secession, public opinion was divided in Boston. The Democratic party was strong there; and the Democratic party had been too long and too firmly united to the dominant party at the South to feel any sympathy with a movement which took its rise in hostility to the most important and most cherished institution of the South. The Democratic party did not stand alone. The Whig party, though almost dead, was dying hard; and the Webster Whigs, the Silver Grays, the Bell and Everett men, the Conservatives generally, were for peace at almost any price. As late as February 5, such men as Judge Curtis, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Hillard, and Mr. Saltonstall were speaking in Faneuil Hall in favor of the Crittenden compromise resolutions; but in Cambridge, six days later, Mr. Palfrey and Mr. Dana were declaring the South to be in revolution, or in mutiny, and proclaiming themselves to be uncompromisingly loyal to the Union.

By the morning of April 16, 1861, when Sumter had been fired upon, companies of militia began to arrive in Boston, in obedience to the order of the Governor, based upon a telegraphic call for troops from Washington; fifes and drums began to be heard, the streets were thronged with people, flags were displayed in every direction, and the red, white, and blue rosette was seen on many a breast. Individuals offered pecuniary aid to soldiers' families. The Hon. William Gray sent $10,000 to the State House. The banks of Boston offered to lend the State $3,600,000, in advance of legislative action. Many of the leading physicians of the city volunteered to give their professional services to the families of the soldiers. The Boston bar voted to take charge of the cases of those of their brethren who went to the war, and that liberal provision be made for their families.[1] By the 19th $30,000 had been raised in Boston to aid in the formation of a regiment of infantry, of which more will be said in its place.

The attack on Fort Sumter had a wonderful effect upon public opinion in Boston, as well as elsewhere. On April 16 the *Boston Post*, the leading Democratic newspaper of New England, published an appeal to the people, in which it called upon all to choose whether they would help to preserve "our noble Republican Government," or descend into the pit of social anarchy; and warned them to "adjourn all other issues until this self-preserving issue is settled." On the 21st, in the Music Hall, Wendell Phillips gave the war a welcome "hearty and hot," and said: "I rejoice, for the first time in my Antislavery life, I stand under the stars and stripes, and welcome the tread of Massachusetts men." On the 27th, Mr. Everett, in

[1] For much of the statistical information contained in the following pages I am indebted to the *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War*, in two volumes (one general, the other on the towns), by Mr. Schouler, for some years Adjutant-General of the Commonwealth.

a speech made in Chester Square, declared that the Government of the country must be sustained. He said: "Upon an issue in which the life of the country is involved, we rally as one man to its defence. All former differences of opinion are swept away. We forget that we ever have been partisans: we remember only that we are Americans, and that our country is in peril." He was followed by Mr. Hallett, one of the foremost of the Democratic politicians of Boston and of New England, whose loyalty to the Union, like that of Mr. Everett, from this day to the day of his death never grew cold.

On April 15, 1861, Faneuil Hall, and all other buildings under the control of the city which were suitable for the accommodation of troops, were placed at the disposal of the Governor. On the 19th $100,000 were appropriated "for the good care and comfort of the soldiers who may be in Boston." By April 27, 1861, the city had arranged to subsist the troops detailed to garrison the forts in the harbor. The first detachment of these troops, the Fourth Battalion of Infantry, composed almost wholly of young Boston men, occupied Fort Independence on April 26.

In the ten months beginning with June, 1861, the Treasurer of the city was authorized to borrow $100,000 for the payment of State aid to soldiers' families, and this total gradually grew to upwards of $1,000,000; but the whole amount was repaid to the city by the Commonwealth. In July, 1862, $300,000 were appropriated to pay bounties to such volunteers as might enlist to fill the quota of the city, and this sum was swelled by successive appropriations, — the last of which seems to have been in July, 1864, — to a total of $1,380,000. The total amount of money expended by the city, exclusive of State aid, is set down at a little over $2,500,000.

Of the hospitalities of the city to soldiers going to and returning from the front; of the city relief committee; of the discharged soldiers' home; of the "committee of one hundred," which raised and expended the Massachusetts soldiers' fund; of the gifts of ice, provisions, and clothing; of Mr. Evans's offer of the Evans House as a place of deposit for contributions for the soldiers, and of the use made of it by Mrs. Otis, who established there the "Bank of Faith;" of the New England Women's auxiliary association, a branch of the United States sanitary commission, with headquarters in Boston; of the Boston soldiers' fund, — of all these mere mention must suffice; and to mention these leaves almost countless other patriotic acts and sacrifices unnoticed.

It is said that Boston furnished twenty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-five men for the war. As about one sixth of the men furnished by Massachusetts for the service of the United States during the war were men in the navy, it is fair to assume that the total above given as the quota of Boston is to be diminished by more than one sixth to approximate the number of men furnished by her for the land service.

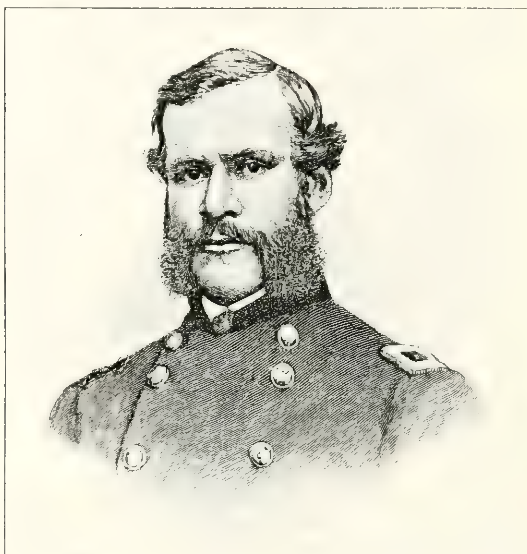
This showing, apparently so creditable, is unfortunately far from being an accurate presentation of the truth. Many, very many, men took up

arms from patriotic motives, and were volunteers in fact as well as in name; but there were thousands and thousands of men who were perfectly able to go, and would have made excellent soldiers, but who preferred to stay at home. The ranks came to be filled by men who had received bounties — sometimes very large — to induce them to enlist. The fear of the draft was great, and money was poured out freely to procure so-called volunteers, and to purchase substitutes. The trade in men became brisk and lucrative, and the character of the regiments so reinforced and so formed depreciated in proportion. While the drag-net, baited with dollars, was thrown out at home, desertion became common at the front. The phrase "bounty-jumper" became as familiar as a household word. Men enlisted, received the bounty, deserted, enlisted again, deserted, and so on; while plenty of women were found ready to marry successively the men whose pockets were heavy with bounty-money, and who were pretty sure not to reappear in the scenes in which they had been mustered and received their bonus. If these men had been all Americans, or persons resident in America, it would have been bad enough; but foreigners were imported in considerable numbers for the express purpose of being placed in the ranks. In one case some hundreds of freshly imported Germans arrived at the front one evening, were mustered into a Massachusetts regiment of the very first class, and the next morning were thrust into one of the bloodiest battles of the war, without being so much as able to understand the words of command. Enough was done and suffered by Massachusetts men in the war to afford just ground for pride; but when we exult over the uprising of a great people, we of Massachusetts and of Boston must not forget that there were shadows to the picture. Had the men of Boston in July, 1863, been as full of patriotic fervor and the spirit of self-sacrifice as were the early volunteers, public opinion would have been such that even the short-lived riot which then disturbed the peace of the city could not have taken place.

It is hard to say what regiments of infantry and cavalry and batteries of artillery Boston sent to the field, because it is probable that there was not a single organization all the members of which came from its people. It is coming pretty near the truth to say that the 1st, 2d, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 19th, 20th, 24th, 28th, 32d, 33d, 35th, and 56th regiments of infantry, the 3d regiment of heavy artillery, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 6th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th batteries, and the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th regiments of cavalry, were from Boston, — that is to say, the majority, or at least a large part, of their officers and men were Boston men. The 54th and 55th regiments of colored infantry, and the 5th regiment of colored cavalry, were raised largely under Boston influence. To these may be added the 44th and 45th regiments of infantry, which were especially Boston regiments; but they enlisted only for nine months, and were not much exposed, and had less than one per cent of their numbers killed in action. Of the three-years' regiments the 1st was a militia regiment, which volunteered for the war. The 9th and

28th were Irish regiments. The 2d, 20th, and 24th were raised under more or less exceptional circumstances, especially the 2d.

In the formation of all these three regiments, and to a considerable extent in that of the 1st and 2d cavalry, the officers were mainly selected by other judges than the men of their commands or the officials at the State House. In the formation of the other regiments and batteries, company officers were usually elected by their men, and the field and staff appointed at the State House. A comparison of the returns of the loss by death of some fourteen of these regiments shows a remarkable evenness of experience.

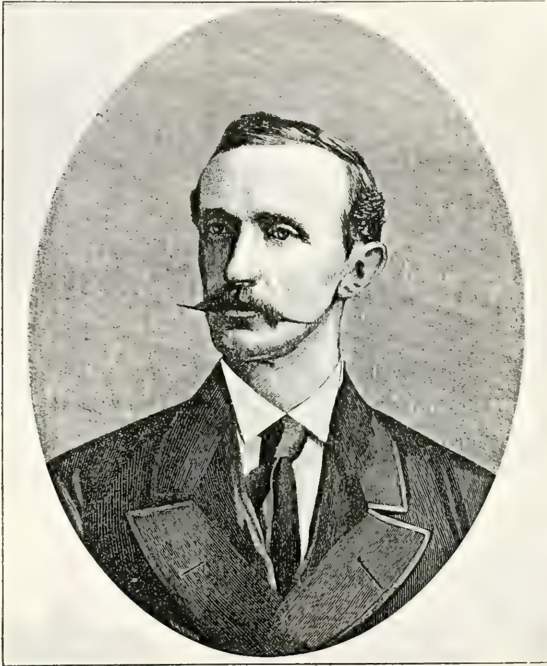


GENERAL THOMAS G. STEVENSON.[1]

In eight of them it was about ten per cent. One, which was thrust into the bloody battles of the Wilderness almost as soon as it left the camp where it was formed, lost about sixteen per cent by death. The loss of the other three was from twelve to fifteen per cent. In the percentage of killed in action, omitting those who died from wounds or disease, there is a discrepancy as remarkable, — the percentage ranging from less than three to

[1] [General Stevenson was born in Boston in 1836, — a son of the Hon. J. Thomas Stevenson. He was a captain of the Massachusetts militia when the war broke out. He became colonel of the 24th regiment, and led it in the North Carolina campaign. He became brigadier-general Dec. 27, 1862, and was in the attack on Fort Wagner. He was in command of the first division, ninth corps, when he fell near Spottsylvania, May 10, 1864. — ED.]

over seven per cent. The actual loss in action of the 20th regiment was much the largest, — one hundred and ninety-two against one hundred and sixty-one in the regiment which came next to it; but the 20th not only had a large number of men on its rolls than any other regiment of infantry from Massachusetts included in the above list, but had the fortune to be



GENERAL WILLIAM F. BARTLETT.[1]

almost always actively engaged. General Orders from the headquarters of the army of the Potomac, dated March 1, 1865, specifying the names of the actions in which the regiments and batteries of the army of the Potomac had borne a meritorious part, and which they were ordered to have in-

[1] [General Bartlett was born at Haverhill, June 6, 1840, — the son of a Boston merchant. He was appointed captain in the 20th Massachusetts regiment, July 10, 1861, while yet a student at Harvard. He became colonel of the 49th regiment, Nov. 10, 1862, and distinguished himself at Port Hudson. The next year he was made colonel of the 57th Massachusetts regiment, and was in the Battles of the Wilderness. He became brigadier-general of volunteers, June 21, 1864, and commanded a division of the ninth corps; and was captured before Petersburg, July 30, 1864. He was exchanged in September, and at the close of the war was brevetted major-general. He lost a leg, and was otherwise wounded, during his service. He died Dec. 17, 1876. — ED.]

scribed on their colors or guidons, assigned to that regiment a number greater than that assigned to any other infantry regiment in that army. The loss of this regiment from desertion was also small, — about seven per cent, — while the average loss was about twelve per cent. The table on the next page may be found interesting; but in consulting it, it must be remembered that the 32d, 33d, and 35th regiments of infantry did not go to the

COLONEL PAUL J. REVERE.[1]

front till after the first of July, 1862, when the fighting of the Peninsula campaign, so called, was ended; that the 54th and 55th regiments of infantry were not organized till 1863, nor the 56th till 1864; that the 1st and 2d cavalry were three battalion regiments, each battalion containing four companies, and that they thus had a considerably larger number of officers than the infantry regiments; that the 3d cavalry was, from its organization

[1] [Colonel Revere was born in Boston, Nov. 10, 1832; graduated at Harvard College in 1852; became major of the 20th Massachusetts Volunteers in July, 1861; advanced to a lieutenant-colonelcy on the staff in September, 1862, and to the colonelcy of the 20th in April, 1863. He was mortally wounded, July 2, 1863, at Gettysburg, and died July 5. He is buried at Mount Auburn. A sketch of his life, by General W. R. Lee, is in *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, i. 204. — ED.]

in the autumn of 1862, an infantry regiment; till midsummer of 1863, when it was "converted into a regiment of cavalry" by General Banks, and had three companies added to it. The formation of the 2d cavalry also dates from the autumn of 1862. The fortune of war made the experiences of commands so different, that only general results can be arrived at by a comparison of the returns. Thus the 19th Massachusetts, though brigaded with the 20th, was absent from several engagements in which the 20th took part in the first year of the war, and engaged at least once when the 20th was not: —

ORGANIZATION.	TOTAL.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds, Disease, etc.	Deserted
First Regiment Infantry	1981	93	88	155
Second Regiment Infantry	2767	116	156	276
Ninth Regiment Infantry	1922	153	105	241
Eleventh Regiment Infantry	2423	85	147	328
Twelfth Regiment Infantry	1758	128	126	191
Thirteenth Regiment Infantry	1584	71	75	171
Nineteenth Regiment Infantry	2469	104	160	174
Twentieth Regiment Infantry	3230	192	192	229
Twenty-fourth Regiment Infantry	2116	63	147	112
Twenty-eighth Regiment Infantry	2504	161	203	288
Thirty-second Regiment Infantry	2969	79	198	163
Thirty-third Regiment Infantry	1412	69	107	79
Thirty-fifth Regiment Infantry	1665	91	134	40
Fifty-fourth Regiment Infantry (black)	1574	54	154	40
Fifty-fifth Regiment Infantry (black)	1295	52	132	27
Fifty-sixth Regiment Infantry	1319	69	134	129
Third Heavy Artillery	2358	1	40	383
First Battery	319	5	15	7
Second Battery	415	1	25	13
Third Battery	318	6	13	9
Sixth Battery	451	5	50	57
Tenth Battery	274	4	19	4
Eleventh Battery	199	2	11	1
Twelfth Battery	300	.....	25	75
Thirteenth Battery	355	.....	26	99
First Cavalry	2767	49	167	161
Second Cavalry	2841	62	147	622
Third Cavalry	2653	60	203	372
Fourth Cavalry	2018	21	123	262
Fifth Cavalry (black)	1516	.....	117	124

The regiments of colored infantry lost heavily, — the 54th about thirteen per cent, and the 55th over fourteen per cent; but the killed in action in each of these regiments was to their deaths from other causes as one to two and one half, or three; while in the white regiments it was in four cases as great or greater, and in three exceeded three-quarters. It should be

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said further to the credit of these colored regiments, that the percentage of desertion in neither reached three per cent. The colored cavalry regiment had not a man killed, but lost about eight per cent by death and the same by desertion. The losses in the cavalry regiments proper, — that is, excluding the converted 41st infantry, — ranged from seven to eight per cent. Desertion in the 1st cavalry was small, — only six per cent. In the 4th it was about thirteen per cent, while in the 2d[2] it rose to the enormous

[1] [Colonel Shaw was born in Boston, Oct. 10, 1837, the son of Francis G. Shaw, and grandson of Robert G. Shaw, the well known merchant of Boston. He served a brief term in Washington, on the outbreak of the war, as a private in the New York Seventh Militia regiment; and, May 28, was made a second lieutenant in the Second Massachusetts Volunteers. He became first lieutenant, July 8, 1861; and captain, Aug. 10, 1862; and then, when the 54th Massachusetts Regiment was formed, — the first of the colored regiments recruited under State authority, — he became its colonel, April 17, 1863; and died at their head, July 18, 1863, in an attack on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, and was buried with his men, where they fell. See *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, ii. 172. — Ed.]

[2] I have it from good authority that the desertion from the second cavalry was almost wholly from the seven companies enlisted in Massachusetts, and that from the five companies which came from California there was scarcely any. It occurred almost entirely before the recruits were sent forward from the State, and on the way to the field. It is understood to have been owing to the fact that the better class of

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